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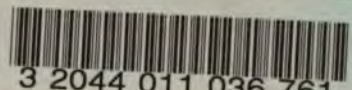
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NEW ENGLAND'S MEMORIAL,

BY
NATHANIEL MORTON,
SECRETARY TO THE COURT, FOR THE JURISDICTION
OF NEW-PLIMMOUTH.

Fifth Edition.

CONTAINING BESIDES THE
ORIGINAL WORK, AND THE SUPPLEMENT
ANNEXED TO THE SECOND EDITION,
LARGE ADDITIONS IN MARGINAL NOTES,

AND AN

APPENDIX:

WITH A

LITHOGRAPHIC COPY OF AN ANCIENT MAP.

BY JOHN DAVIS,
*Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences,
and Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society.*

Itur in antiquam sylvam.—

BOSTON:
PRINTED BY CROCKER AND DREWSTER.
No. 47, Washington Street, late No. 50, Cornhill.
1826.

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A

*DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS, to wit:
District Clerk's Office.*

BE IT REMEMBERED, that on the thirteenth day of December, A. D. 1826, in the fifty first year of the Independence of the United States of America, the Pilgrim Society, by their Treasurer, Isaac L. Hedge, of the said District, have deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof they claim as Proprietors, in the words following, to wit:

"New England's Memorial. By Nathaniel Morton, Secretary to the court, for the jurisdiction of New-Plimouth. Fifth edition. Containing, besides the original work, and the Supplement annexed to the second edition, large additions in Marginal Notes, and an Appendix; with a lithographic copy of an ancient Map. By John Davis, Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Itur in antiquam sylvam."

In Conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, intitled, "An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned;" and also to an act, intitled, "An act supplementary to an act, intitled, An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned: and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving and etching historical, and other prints."

JNO. W. DAVIS,

Clerk of the District of Massachusetts.

PREFACE TO THIS EDITION.

THE plan and purpose, intended by Secretary Morton, in compiling the New-England's Memorial, and the laudable principles by which he was influenced, are fully displayed in the dedication prefixed to his work, and in his address to the reader. The scale, which he prescribed to himself, was a limited one. His education, manner of life, and connexion with the leading men in the arduous enterprize recorded in his history, qualified him to accomplish his task, though undertaken with much diffidence.

George Morton, the author's father, came to Plymouth, with his family, in July 1623. He had been an inhabitant of the same village with Governour Bradford, Ansterfield, in the North of England, and was connected with him, by marriage—his wife Sarah, being a sister of the Governour. He died in June 1624, leaving a widow and four children, Nathaniel, John, Patience and Ephraim. The child last named was born on the passage from England. John, the second son, was an early settler in Middleborough. From him, it is believed, is descended Hon. Marcus Morton, late Lieutenant-Governour, now one of the Justices of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. Ephraim became a man of considerable distinction, in the Colony. He was, for many successive years, a member of the Council of War, and, with John Bradford, represented the town of Plymouth, in the first General Court, holden at Boston, after the union with Massachusetts. From this branch is descended Perez Morton, Esq. Attorney-General of Massachusetts. Patience Morton, married John Faunce, and was the mother of Elder Thomas Faunce. Nathaniel, the eldest child, was twelve years old, when his father died. Every member of the bereaved family, doubtless, received the kind attentions of Gov. Bradford. There were, at the same time, three other orphan youths, under his charge, Thomas Cushman, son of his excellent friend Robert Cushman, Constant Southworth and Thomas Southworth, sons of Mrs. Bradford, by her first husband. It must have been highly gratifying to their worthy patron, to witness the virtuous deportment of these youths, all nearly of the same age, and the esti-

mation in which they were held in the community, in their maturer years.

In 1636, Nathaniel Morton was admitted a freeman, and, in the same year, was married to Lydia Cooper. In 1645, he was elected Clerk, or Secretary, of the Colony Court. His immediate predecessor, in that office, was Nathaniel Southworth, of whom we have no exact account. His name is sometimes written *Souther*, probably in accommodation to the pronunciation. It is supposed that he was related to Mrs. Bradford's first husband. Secretary Morton continued in office until his death, June 28, 1685, and we are much indebted to him for the good preservation of the venerable Old Colony archives. He was scrupulously faithful, diligent, and exact, displaying exemplary observance of the divine Herbert's injunction, in his *Church Porch*,

If studious, copy fair what time hath blurr'd.
Redeem truth from his jaws———

The Secretary also held the office of Town Clerk, in which he was succeeded by his nephew, Elder Faunce. In 1673, his wife died. His second wife who survived him, was Ann Templar, of Charlestown, a widow, at the time of her marriage with Mr. Morton. He had eight children, (all by his first wife,) two sons who died in childhood, and six daughters. All the daughters were married in his life time. Two of them, Mercy and Elizabeth, died before their father. The death of Elizabeth, the wife of Nathaniel Bosworth, of Hull, and her *honourable burial*, at Plymouth, are mentioned in the Colony Records.

The first edition of the Memorial was published in 1669. It was a small quarto volume, printed at Cambridge, by Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson, who received, for that service, a grant of twenty pounds, from the Colony, and afterwards a small additional gratuity. A second edition was printed in 1721, at Boston, by Nicholas Boone. To this edition was added a Supplement by Josiah Cotton, Esq. then Register of Deeds for the county of Plymouth. A more copious supplement might have been expected, considering the ample materials in the keeping of Mr. Cotton; but, probably, as much was furnished as the public were disposed to encourage. In 1772, a third edition, copied from the second, was printed, at Newport, by Solomon Southwick. When another edition appeared to be demanded, it was thought desirable, that notes should be annexed, giving information in regard to many particulars, connected with the original narrative, that might, in a degree, meet the increased interest in the early history of our country. This was undertaken by the editor. Before the completion of his labours, which have been often interrupted, and for long intervals suspended.

another edition of the Memorial and Mr. Cotton's Supplement has appeared, printed at Plymouth, by Allen Danforth, in a duodecimo volume, so that this enlarged edition, which, it was expected, would have been the fourth, is denominated the fifth. In executing the work, the first edition has been followed. Marginal Notes have been added as occasion appeared to require; original documents, of too great length to be inserted in the margin, and additional remarks, requiring considerable space, are placed in the appendix. These additions, constitute nearly one half of the volume.

The Map of New-England, prefixed, though very rudely sketched, had some attractions, inducing the editor to procure it to be copied for the Memorial. It was particularly designed to illustrate Hubbard's "Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians." Such explanations of this ancient performance as appeared to be necessary, are given at the close of a note on Philips' war, in the appendix.*

The marginal notes in the original work, are retained, in this edition, and are marked with the letter M, subjoined. Some of those notes, before we arrive, in the history, to the year 1646, were, probably, written by Gov. Bradford, to whose manuscripts, down to that date, Secretary Morton acknowledges himself to be principally indebted for his materials. The notes appended to the extracts from Mourt's and Winslow's Journals, in the first part of the Appendix, were copied, with those extracts, from the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. They were written by Rev. James Freeman, D. D., to whom the community are indebted for many valuable illustrations of the history and geography of our country. The reader will find *Antient Vestiges* and *Historical Extracts*, occasionally quoted. By these references, the manuscript collections of *Samuel Davis*, Esq. of Plymouth, are intended, whose thorough knowledge of the antiquities of the Old Colony, and familiar acquaintance with its records, enabled him to afford frequent and very acceptable aid to the editor in his inquiries. In quotations from the Historical Collections, the first series is intended, unless the second be expressed. The quotations from Winthrop's Journal are from the first edition, having been written before the publication of Mr. Savage's highly improved edition of that interesting work. Before Mr. Savage's publication, the Hartford edition was regarded as a treasure; but now, *Cedite Graii*—the editor's quotations are, probably, among the last notices it is to receive. In regard to dates, they are given without alteration. Most of them belong to the seventeenth century, and can, readily, be converted into New Style, by the addition of ten days; one day more to be added in the eighteenth century, in dates before the introduction of the New Style.

* p. 461.

The figure at the head of Mr. Morton's dedication, represents the Old Colony seal, and has been copied from the book of Laws, published in 1685. It originated, probably, in Mr. Cushman's advice to Governour Bradford, in a letter from England, December 18, 1624.—"Make your corporation as formal as you can, under the name of the Society in Plimouth in New-England."* Of this seal, the Colony was deprived, in the rapacious days of Andros. On a return to the old paths, the Governour was requested to procure its restoration. If this application were successful, the seal has since been lost.

With these introductory notices, some explanation, or apology it may be thought, should be offered, for the long delay in the publication of this work. The usual excuse in such cases, circumstances beyond the controul of the author, may not perhaps be admitted; and yet, to say more, would occupy the writer and the reader in details of little interest, at the present moment, and which will, soon, be of no interest whatever. The editor, might, perhaps, make out a case, inducing some mitigation of a sentence, that he may have reason to apprehend; but he is unwilling to connect such unimportant suggestions with the grave subject on which he has been employed, and with a work which he would now introduce, he hopes in an improved form, to public examination. Rather than to detain the reader, with awkward and unprofitable personal discussions, he would be disposed to admit that he has been to blame, and will be gratified if he shall have made his peace with expecting, and, sometimes, complaining friends, by any thing which may be found in the following pages.

Boston, December 12th, 1826.

* Hist. Coll. III. 32.

Copy of the Title Page of the First Edition.

NEW ENGLAND'S MEMORIAL:
OR,
A BRIEF RELATION
OF THE
MOST MEMORABLE AND REMARKABLE PASSAGES
OF THE
PROVIDENCE OF GOD,
MANIFESTED TO THE
PLANTERS OF NEW-ENGLAND IN AMERICA:
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE
TO THE
FIRST COLONY THEREOF,
CALLED
NEW-PLIMOUTH.
AS ALSO A NOMINATION OF DIVERS OF THE MOST EMINENT
INSTRUMENTS DECEASED, BOTH OF CHURCH AND COM-
MONWEALTH, IMPROVED IN THE FIRST BEGINNING
AND AFTER PROGRESS OF SUNDRY OF THE RE-
SPECTIVE JURISDICTIONS IN THOSE PARTS;
IN REFERENCE UNTO SUNDRY EXEM-
PLARY PASSAGES OF THEIR LIVES,
AND THE TIME OF THEIR
DEATH.

Published for the use and benefit of present and future generations.

BY NATHANIEL MORTON,
SECRETARY TO THE COURT, FOR THE JURISDICTION
OF NEW-PLIMOUTH.

Deut. xxxii, 10.—He found him in a desert land, in the waste howling wilderness
he led him about; he instructed him, he kept him as the apple of his eye.

Jer. ii, 2, 3.—I remember thee, the kindness of thy youth, the love of thine espou-
sals, when thou wentest after me in the wilderness, in the land that was not
sown, &c.

Deut. viii, 2, 16.—And thou shalt remember all the way which the Lord thy God
led thee this *forty years* in the wilderness, &c.

CAMBRIDGE:

PRINTED BY S. G. AND M. J. FOR JOHN USHER OF BOSTON.

1669.

TO THE READER.

It is much to be desired there might be extant *A Compleat History of the United Colonies of New-England*, that God may have the praise of his goodness to his People here, and that the present and future Generations may have the benefit thereof. This being not attainable for the present, nor suddenly to be expected, it is very expedient, that (while sundry of the Eldest Planters are yet living) *Records and Memorials of Remarkable Providences* be preserved and published, that the true Originals of these Plantations may not be lost, that *New-England*, in all times to come, may remember the day of her smallest things, and that there may be a furniture of *Materials* for a true and full History in after-times.

For these and such-like Reasons we are willing to Recommend unto the Reader this present *Narrative* as a Useful Piece. The Author is an approved godly man, and one of the first Planters at *Plimouth*. The Work itself is Compiled with Modesty of Spirit, Simplicity of Style, and truth of Matter, containing the *Annals of New-England* for the space of 47 years, with special reference to *Plimouth* Colony, which was the first, and where the Author hath had his constant abode: And (yet so far as his Intelligence did reach) relating many remarkable Passages in the several Colonies; and also making an honourable mention of divers of the most Eminent Servants of God that have been amongst us in several parts of the Country, after they had finished their course. We hope that the Labour of this good man will find a general Acceptance amongst the People of God, and also be a means to provoke some or other in the rest of the Colonies (who have had knowledge of things from the beginning) to contribute their Observations and Memorials also; by which means what is wanting in this *Narrative* may be supplied by some others: and so in the issue, from divers *Memorials* there may be matter for a just *History of New-England* in the Lord's good time. In the mean time, this may stand for a *Monument*, and be deservedly acknowledged as an *Ebenezer*, that *Hitherto the Lord hath helped us*.

March 26, 1669.

John Higginson,*
Thomas Taucher.†

* Minister of Salem, died Dec. 9, 1703, in the 93d year of his age.

† First minister of the Old South Church, in Boston, died October 15, 1678.



TO THE
RIGHT WORSHIPFUL, THOMAS PRINCE, Esq.

GOVERNOUR OF THE JURISDICTION OF NEW-PLIMOUTH;

WITH

THE WORSHIPFUL, THE MAGISTRATES,

His Assistants in the said Government:

*N. M. wisheth Peace and Prosperity in this life, and Eternal Happiness
 in that which is to come.*

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL,

THE consideration of the weight of duty that lieth upon us, to commemorate to future generations the memorable passages of God's providence to us and our predecessors in the beginning of this plantation, hath wrought in me a restlessness of spirit, and earnest desire, that something might be atchieved in that behalf, more (or at least otherwise) than as yet hath been done. Many discouragements I have met with,

both from within and without myself; but reflecting upon the ends I have proposed to myself in setting out in this work, it hath afforded me some support, viz. The glory of God, and the good of present and future generations. Being also induced hereunto, by the consideration that yourselves (especially some of you) are fully acquainted with many of the particulars, both concerning persons and things, inserted in the following narrative, and can, on your own knowledge, assert them for truth. Were it so that any other had travelled in this kind, in such a way as might have conduced to a brief and satisfactory intelligence in particulars relating to the premises, I would have spared this labour, and have satisfied myself in perusal of their works, rather than to have set pen to paper about the same; but having never seen nor heard of any, especially respecting this our plantation of New-Plimouth, which God hath honoured to be the first in this land, I have made bold to present your Worships with, and to publish to the world something of the very first beginnings of the great actions of God in New-England, begun at New-Plimouth: wherein, the greatest part of my intelligence hath been borrowed from my much honoured uncle, Mr. William Bradford, and such manuscripts as he left in his study, from the year 1620, unto 1646; whom had God continued in this world some longer time, and given him rest from his other more important affairs, we might probably have had these things from an abler pen, and better digested, than now you may expect. Certain diurnals of the honoured Mr. Edward Winslow have also afforded me good light and help:

and what from them both, and otherwise I have obtained, that I judged suitable for the following discourse, I have with care and faithfulness related; and have therein more solicitously followed the truth of things (many of which I can also assert on my own knowledge) than I have studied quaintness in expressions.

I should gladly have spoken more particularly of the neighbouring united colonies, whose ends and aims in their transplanting of themselves and families, were the same with ours, viz. The glory of God, the propagation of the Gospel, and enlargement of His Majesty's dominions; but for want of intelligence, and that I may not prevent a better pen, I shall only make mention of some of their worthies that we have been most acquainted with.

I shall not insist upon the clime nor soil of the country, its commodities, or discommodities; nor at large on the natives, or their customs and manners: all which have been already declared by Capt. Smith, Mr. Higginson, Mr. Williams, Mr. Wood, and others. What it is, and what my aims at God's glory, and my good affection to the place and people of whom I treat, may make it, I present your Worships with, humbly craving your favourable aspect, and good acceptance of my poor endeavours; and that my self and it may find protection and shelter under the wings of your pious patronage, to defend us against such critical and censorious eyes and tongues, as may either carp at my expressions, or misconstrue my intentions. The ample experience I have had of your undeserved favour and respect to me, in my many years service of

the publick, and my observation in that time, that you have desired something of this nature might be done, hath encouraged me hereunto: your good acceptance whereof, shall ever oblige me to answerable returning of gratitude, and administer to me further cause of thankfulness, that God hath given me an habitation under your just and prudent administrations; and wish for a succession of such as may be skilful to lead our Israel in this their peregrination; and when God shall take you hence, to receive the crown of your labours and travels. So prayeth,

Your Worships humble servant,

Nathaniel Melton

TO THE
CHRISTIAN READER.

Grace and Peace be multiplied; with Profit by this following Narration.

GENTLE READER,

I HAVE for some length of time looked upon it as a duty incumbent, especially on the immediate successors of those that have had so large experience of those many memorable and signal demonstrations of God's goodness, viz. The first beginners of this plantation in New-England, to commit to writing his gracious dispensations on that behalf; having so many inducements thereunto, not only otherwise, but so plentifully in the sacred Scriptures, that so, what we have seen, and what our fathers have told us, we may not hide from our children, shewing to the generations to come the praises of the Lord. Psal. 78. 3, 4. That especially the seed of Abraham his servant, and the children of Jacob his chosen, may remember his marvellous works (Psal. 105. 5, 6.) in the beginning and progress of the planting of New-England, his wonders, and the judgments of his mouth; how that God brought a vine into this wilderness; that he cast out the heathen

and planted it; and he also made room for it, and he caused it to take deep root, and it filled the land; so that it hath sent forth it's boughs to the sea, and it's branches to the river. Psal. 80. 8, 9. And not only so, but also that He hath guided his people by his strength to his holy habitation, and planted them in the mountain of his inheritance, (Exod. 15. 13.) in respect of precious gospel-enjoyments. So that we may not only look back to former experiences of God's goodness to our predecessors,* (though many years before) and so have our faith strengthened in the mercies of God for our times; that so the Church being one numerical body, might not only even for the time he spake with us in our forefathers, (Hos. 12. 4.) by many gracious manifestations of his glorious attributes, Wisdom, Goodness, and Truth, improved for their good, but also rejoyce in present enjoyments of both outward and spirituall mercies, as fruits of their prayers, tears, travels and labours; that as especially God may have the glory of all, unto whom it is most due; so also some rays of glory may reach the names of those blessed saints that were the main instruments of the beginning of this happy enterprize.

So then, gentle Reader, thou mayest take notice, that the main ends of publishing this small history, is, that God may have his due praise, his servants the instruments have their names embalmed, and the present and future ages may have the fruit and benefit of God's great work in the relation of the first planting of New-England. Which ends, if attained, will be great cause of rejoycing to the publisher thereof, if

* Psal. 66. 6.

God give him life and opportunity to take notice thereof.

The method I have observed, is (as I could) in some measure answerable to the ends aforementioned, in inserting some acknowledgement of God's goodness, faithfulness, and truth upon special occasions, with allusion to the Scriptures; and also taking notice of some special instruments, and such main and special particulars as were perspicuously remarkable, in way of commendation in them, so far as my intelligence would reach; and especially in a faithful commemorizing, and declaration of God's wonderful works for, by, and to his people, in preparing a place for them by driving out the heathen before them; bringing them through a sea of troubles; preserving and protecting them from, and in those dangers that attended them in their low estate, when they were strangers in the land; and making this howling wilderness a chamber of rest, safety, and pleasantness, whiles the storms of his displeasure have not only tossed, but endangered the overwhelming of great states and kingdoms, and hath now made it to us a fruitful land, sowed it with the seed of man and beast; but especially in giving us so long a peace, together with the Gospel of peace, and so great a freedom in our civil and religious enjoyments; and also in giving us hopes that we may be instruments in his hands, not only of enlarging of our prince's dominions, but to enlarge the kingdom of the Lord Jesus, in the conversion of the poor blind natives.

And now, courteous Reader, that I may not hold thee too long in the porch, I only crave of thee to

read this following discourse with a single eye, and with the same ends as I had in penning it. Let not the smallness of our beginnings, nor weakness of instruments, make the thing seem little, or the work despicable, but on the contrary, let the greater praise be rendered unto God, who hath effected great things by small means. Let not the harshness of my style, prejudice thy taste or appetite to the dish I present thee with. Accept it as freely as I give it. Carp not at what thou dost not approve, but use it as a remembrance of the Lord's goodness, to engage to true thankfulness and obedience; so it may be a help to thee in thy journey through the wilderness of this world, to that eternal rest which is only to be found in the heavenly Canaan, which is the earnest desire of

Thy Christian friend,

NATHANIEL MORTON.

NEW-ENGLAND'S MEMORIAL.

It is the usual manner of the dispensation of the Majesty of heaven, to work wonderfully by weak means for the effectuating of great things. to the intent that he may have the more glory to himself: Many instances hereof might be produced, both out of the Sacred Scriptures, and common experience; and amongst many others of this kind, the late happy and memorable enterprise of the planting of that part of America called New-England, deserveth to be commemorized to future posterity.

In the year 1602, divers godly Christians of our English nation, in the North of England, being studious of reformation, and therefore not only witnessing against human inventions, and additions in the worship of God, but minding most the positive and practical part of divine institutions, they entered into covenant to walk with God, and one with another, in the enjoyment of the ordinances of God, according to the primitive pattern in the word of God. But finding by experience they could not peaceably enjoy their own

liberty in their native country, without offence to others that were differently minded; they took up thoughts of removing themselves and their families into the Netherlands, which accordingly they endeavoured to accomplish, but met with great hindrance; yet after some time, the good hand of God removing obstructions, they obtained their desires; arriving in Holland, they settled themselves in the city of Leyden, in the year 1610, and there they continued divers years in a comfortable condition, enjoying much sweet society and spiritual comfort in the ways of God, living peaceably amongst themselves, and being courteously entertained, and lovingly respected by the Dutch, amongst whom they were strangers, having for their pastor, Mr. John Robinson, a man of a learned, polished and modest spirit, pious and studying of the truth, largely accomplished with suitable gifts and qualifications to be a shepherd over this flock of Christ; having also a fellow helper with him in the eldership, Mr. William Brewster, a man of approved piety, gravity, and integrity, very eminently furnished with gifts suitable to such an office.

But notwithstanding their amiable and comfortable carrying on (as hath been said) although the church of Christ on earth in holy writ, is sometimes called heaven; yet there is always in their most perfect state, here in this lower world, very much wanting as to absolute and perfect happiness, which is only reserved for the time and place of the full enjoyment of celestial glory; for, although this church was at peace, and in rest at this time, yet they took up thoughts of removing themselves into America with common consent; the propo-

sition of removing thither being set on foot, and prosecuted by the elders upon just and weighty grounds; for although they did quietly and sweetly enjoy their church liberties under the States, yet they foresaw that Holland would be no place for their church and posterity to continue in comfortably, at least in that measure that they hoped to find abroad; and that for these reasons following, which I shall recite as received from themselves.

First, Because themselves were of a different language from the Dutch where they lived, and were settled in their way, insomuch that in ten years time, whilst their church sojourned amongst them, they could not bring them to reform the neglect of observation of the Lord's day as a sabbath, or any other thing amiss among them.

Secondly, Because their countrymen, who came over to join with them, by reason of the hardness of the country, soon spent their estates, and were then forced either to return back to England, or to live very meanly.

Thirdly, That many of their children, through the extreme necessity that was upon them, although of the best dispositions, and graciously inclined, and willing to bear part of their parents burthens, were oftentimes so oppressed with their heavy labours, that although their spirits were free and willing, yet their bodies bowed under the weight of the same, and became decrepid in their early youth, and the vigour of nature consumed in the very bud. And that which was very lamentable, and of all sorrows most heavy to be borne, was that many by these occasions and the great licentious-

ness of youth in that country, and the manifold temptations of the place, were drawn away by evil examples into extravagant and dangerous courses, getting the reins on their necks, and departing from their parents: Some became soldiers, others took upon them far voyages by sea, and other some worse courses, tending to dissoluteness, and the destruction of their souls, to the great grief of their parents, and the dishonour of God; and that the place being of great licentiousness and liberty to children, they could not educate them, nor could they give them due correction without reproof or reproach from their neighbours.

Fourthly, That their posterity would in few generations become Dutch, and so lose their interest in the English nation; they being desirous rather to enlarge his Majesty's dominions, and to live under their natural Prince.

Fifthly and lastly, and which was not the least, a great hope and inward zeal they had of laying some good foundation, or at least to make some way thereunto for the propagating and advancement of the Gospel of the kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of the world, yea, although they should be but as stepping stones unto others for the performance of so great a work.*

These and such like were the true reasons of their removal, and not as some of their adversaries did, upon the rumour thereof, cast out slanders against them; as if the state were weary of them, and had rather

*This hath been graciously answered since, by moving the hearts of many of his servants to be very instrumental in this work with some good success, and hopes of further blessing in that respect. M.

driven them out, (as heathen histories have feigned of Moses and the Israelites when they went out of Egypt) than that it was their own free choice and motion.

I will therefore mention a particular or two, to evince the contrary.

And first, although some of them were low in their estates, yet the Dutch observing that they were diligent, faithful, and careful of their engagements, had great respect to them, and strove for their custom.

Again, secondly, the magistrates of the city of Leyden where they lived, about the time of their coming away, in the public place of justice, gave this commendable testimony of them, in reproof of the Walloons who were of the French church in the city: These English (said they) have lived now amongst us ten years, and yet we never had any suit or accusation against them, or any of them, but your strifes and quarrels are continual.

The reasons of their removal above-named being debated first in private, and thought weighty, were afterwards propounded in publick; and after solemn days of humiliation observed both in publick and private,* it was agreed, that part of the church should go before their brethren into America, to prepare for the rest: And if in case the major part of the church did choose to go over with the first, then the pastor to go along with them; but if the major part stayed, that he was then to stay with them.

* In the beginning of 1620 they kept a solemn day of prayer, when Mr. Robinson delivered a discourse from 1 Sam. xxiii, 3, 4, in which he endeavoured to remove their doubts, and confirm their resolutions.

Belknaps Amer. Biog. vol. ii, p. 171.

They having employed sundry agents to treat with several merchants in England, who adventured some considerable sums in a way of valuation to such as went personally on in the voyage; the articles of agreement about the premises being fully concluded with the said merchants, and sundry difficulties and obstructions removed, having also obtained letters patent for the northern parts of Virginia, of King James of famous memory,* all things were got ready and provided, a small ship was bought and fitted out in

* *Robert Cushman and John Carver* were their first agents in 1617, to the Virginia Company, and to obtain security from the King for religious freedom in their proposed settlement. They met with many impediments and returned in May 1618, with encouragement from the Virginia Company relative to a grant of territory, and a promise on the part of the Crown "that the King would connive at them and not molest them, provided they carried peaceably;" but that toleration would not be granted by public authority under his Seal. In Feb. 1619, Mr. Cushman and Mr. Bradford were despatched on the same business. After long attendance they obtained a patent and returned to Leyden in the autumn of that year. The patent was taken out in the name of *John Wincomb* a religious gentleman in the family of the Countess of Lincoln, who intended to accompany them, but was providentially prevented. Thus this patent was never used, being carried however to Leyden "for the people to consider with several proposals for their transmigration, made by Mr. Thomas Weston of London; merchant, and other friends and merchants as should either go or adventure with them; they are requested to prepare with speed for the voyage."

Bradford's M.S. Hist. quoted in Prince's Chron. Holmes's Annals vol. i.

King James in 1606, made a partition of a vast region in North America extending from the 34th to the 45th degree of Latitude, between two trading companies. The southern portion or Virginia was granted to the London company. The northern or *New-England* company were established at Plymouth. The Leyden agents negotiated with the London company. In 1620, Nov. 3, while the Pilgrims were on their passage, the King signed a new patent for the Incorporation of the adventurers to the Northern Colony of Virginia, between 40 and 48 degrees north. The patentees were the Duke of Lenox, and four other noblemen, Sir F. Gorges and 34 others. They were styled the Council established at Plymouth in the County of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of New-England in America, "which is the great and civil basis," says Prince, "of all the future patents and plantations that divide this Country."

Prince's Chron. 95. Robertson's Hist. Amer. book X.

Holland, of about sixty tons, called the Speedwell, as to serve to transport some of them over, so also to stay in the country, and attend upon fishing, and such other affairs as might be for the good and benefit of the colony when they came thither. Another ship was hired at London, of burthen about nine score, called the Mayflower, and all other things got in readiness; so being prepared to depart, they had a solemn day of humiliation, the pastor teaching a part of the day very profitably, and suitably to the present occasion.* The rest of the time was spent in pouring out of prayers unto the Lord, with great fervency, mixed with abundance of tears. And the time being come that they must depart, they were accompanied with most of their brethren out of the city unto a town called Delft Haven, where the ship lay ready to receive them, so they left that goodly and pleasant city, which had been their resting place above eleven years; but they knew that they were pilgrims and strangers here below, and looked not much on these things, but lifted up their eyes to heaven, their dearest country, where God hath prepared for them a city, Heb. xi, 16, and therein quieted their spirits.

When they came to the place, they found the ship and all things ready; and such of their friends as could not come with them, followed after them, and sundry came from Amsterdam to see them shipt, and to take their leave of them. One night was spent with little sleep with the most, but with friendly entertainment, and Christian discourse, and other real expres-

* The text of scripture was Ezra viii, 21. M.

* This was in June or July 1620.

sions of true Christian love. The next day the wind being fair they went on board, and their friends with them, where truly doleful was the sight of that sad and mournful parting, to hear what sighs and sobs, and prayers did sound amongst them; what tears did gush from every eye, and pithy speeches pierced each others heart, that sundry of the Dutch strangers, that stood on the Key as spectators, could not refrain from tears: Yet comfortable and sweet it was, to see such lively and true expressions of dear and unfeigned love. But the tide (which stays for no man) calling them away, that were thus loth to depart, their reverend pastor falling down on his knees, and they all with him, with watery cheeks commended them with most fervent prayers unto the Lord and his blessing; and then with mutual embraces, and many tears, they took their leave one of another, which proved to be the last leave to many of them. Thus hoisting sail with a prosperous gale of wind, they came in a short time to *Southampton*, where they found the bigger ship come from London, being ready with all the rest of their company, meeting each other with a joyful welcome and mutual congratulation.*

At their parting, their pastor, Mr John Robinson, wrote a letter to the whole company, which I thought meet here to insert, being so fruitful in itself, and suitable to their occasions.

Loving Christian friends,

I do heartily, and in the Lord salute you, as being those with whom I am present in my best affections,

* This was about the second of July 1620.

and most earnest longing after you, though I be constrained for a while to be bodily absent from you: I say constrained; God knowing how willingly and much rather than otherwise, I would have borne my part with you in this first brunt, were I not by strong necessity held back for the present. Make account of me in the mean time as a man divided in myself, with great pain, and as (natural bonds set aside) having my better part with you: And although I doubt not but in your godly wisdoms you both foresee and resolve upon that which concerneth your present state and condition, both severally and jointly; yet have I thought it but my duty to add some further spur of provocation to them that run well already, if not because you need it, yet because I owe it in love and duty. And first, as we are daily to renew our repentance with our God, especially for our sins known and generally for our unknown sins and trespasses; so doth the Lord call us in a singular manner, upon occasions of such difficulty and danger as lieth upon you, to both a more narrow search and careful reformation of your ways in his sight, lest he calling to remembrance our sins forgotten by us, or unrepented of, take advantage against us, and in judgment leave us for the same to be swallowed up in one danger or other: Whereas, on the contrary, sin being taken away by earnest repentance, and the pardon thereof from the Lord sealed up to a man's conscience by his spirit, great shall be his security and peace in all dangers, sweet his comforts in all distresses, with happy deliverance from all evil, whether in life or death. Now next after this heavenly peace with God and our own consciences, we are carefully to provide for peace with all men, what in us

lieth, especially with our associates; and for that watchfulness must be had, that we neither at all in ourselves do give, no, nor easily take offence being given by others. Wo be to the world for offences, for although it be necessary, considering the malice of Satan and man's corruption, that offences come, yet wo unto the man, or woman either, by whom the offence cometh, saith Christ, Math. xviii, 7, and if offences in the unseasonable use of things, in themselves indifferent, be more to be feared than death itself, as the Apostle teacheth, 1 Cor. ix, 15, how much more in things simply evil, in which neither the honour of God, nor love of man is thought worthy to be regarded? Neither yet is it sufficient that we keep ourselves by the grace of God from giving of offence, except withal we be armed against the taking of them when they are given by others: For how imperfect and lame is the work of grace in that person, who wants charity to cover a multitude of offences? *As the scripture speaks. Neither are you to be exhorted to this grace, only upon the common grounds of Christianity, which are, that persons ready to take offence, either want charity to cover offences, or wisdom duly to weigh human frailties; or lastly, are gross though close hypocrites, as Christ our Lord teacheth, Matt. vii, 1, 2, 3, as indeed, in my own experience, few or none have been found which sooner give offence, than such as easily take it; neither have they ever proved sound and profitable members in societies, who have nourished this touchy humour. But besides these, there are divers motives provoking you above others to great care and conscience this way; as first, you are many of you stran-*

gers as to the persons, so to the infirmities one of another, and so stand in need of more watchfulness this way, lest when such things fall out in men and women as you suspected not, you be inordinately affected with them, which doth require at your hands much wisdom and charity for the covering and preventing of incident offences that way. And lastly, your intended course of civil community will minister continual occasion of offence, and will be as fuel for that fire, except you diligently quench it with brotherly forbearance: And if taking offence causelessly or easily at men's doings, be so carefully to be avoided; how much more heed is to be taken that we take not offence at God himself? Which yet we certainly do, so oft as we do murmur at his providence in our crosses; or bear impatiently such afflictions as wherewith he pleaseth to visit us. Store up therefore patience against the evil day; without which, we take offence at the Lord himself in his holy and just works. A further thing there is carefully to be provided for; viz. That with your common employments, you join common affections truly bent upon the general good, avoiding, as a deadly plague of your both common and special comforts, all retiredness of mind for proper advantage, and all singularly affected any manner of way; let every man repress in himself, and the whole body in each person, as so many rebels against the common good, all private respects of men's selves, not sorting with the general convenience. And as men are careful not to have a new house shaken with any violence, before it be well settled, and the parts firmly knit; so be you, I beseech you, much more careful that the house of God

which you are, and are to be) be not shaken with unnecessary novelties, or other oppositions at the first settling thereof.

7 Lastly, Whereas you are to become a body politick, using amongst yourselves civil government, and are not furnished with special eminency above the rest, to be chosen by you into office of government; let your wisdom and godliness appear not only in choosing such persons as do intirely love, and will promote the common good; but also in yielding unto them all due honour and obedience in their lawful administrations, not beholding in them the ordinariness of their persons, but God's ordinance for *your* good; not being like the foolish multitude, who more honour the *gay* coat, than either the virtuous mind of the man, or the glorious ordinance of God. But you know better things, and that the image of the Lord's power and authority, which the magistrate beareth, is honourable, in how mean persons soever; and this duty you both may the more willingly, and ought the more conscionably to perform, because you are (at least for the present) to have them for your ordinary governours, which yourselves shall make choice of for that work.

Sundry other things of importance I could put you in mind of, and of those before mentioned in more words; but I will not so far wrong your godly minds, as to think you heedless of these things, there being also divers amongst you well able to admonish both themselves and others, of what concerneth them. These few things therefore, and the same in few words, I do earnestly commend to your care and conscience, joining therewith my daily incessant prayers unto the

Lord, that he who hath made the heavens and the earth and sea, and all rivers of waters, and whose providence is over all his works, especially over all his dear children for good, would so guide and guard you in your ways as inwardly by his spirit, so outwardly by the hand of his power, as that you, and we also for and with you may have after-matter of praising his name all the days of your and our lives. Fare you well in Him in whom you trust, and in whom I rest.

An unfeigned well wisher to your happy success in this hopeful voyage.*

JOHN ROBINSON.

* If any should compare this letter with the former editions, it will be perceived that there is not an entire correspondence. All the editions have been carefully collated with the M. S. copy in the Plymouth Church records, that a correct copy might be here given. Upon the occurrence of verbal discrepancies which were not few, the copy in the Church records has been principally regarded: but it was perceived that it did not appear entitled to an absolute preference. The passage in Italics in the text is omitted in that copy, but it appears in all the printed copies and seems required by the context.

It would be a culpable omission not to insert in this connexion Mr. Robinson's exhortation to his people in his last sermon in July 1620, "which breathes," says Dr. Belknap, "a noble spirit of Christian liberty, and gives a just idea of the sentiments of this excellent divine whose charity was the more conspicuous, because of his former narrow principles, and the general bigotry of the reformed ministers and churches of that day." It is difficult to explain why this excellent advice was not preserved in the Memorial, or copied, as were many other documents of less interest, into the Church records. There is a *springing use*, to adopt the language of lawyers, in such sentiments giving them occasionally a peculiar value, but they will probably be found salutary in every age of the Church. The following extract is copied from Dr. Belknap's life of Robinson, he quotes Neal's History of New England as his authority.

"Brethren, (said he,) we are now quickly to part from one another, and whether I may ever live to see your face on earth any more, the God of heaven only knows; but whether the Lord hath appointed that or not, I charge you before God and his blessed angels, that you follow me no farther, than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ.

"If God reveal any thing to you, by any other instrument of his, be as ready to receive it, as ever you were to receive any truth by my ministry; for I am verily persuaded—I am very confident, that the Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of his holy word. For my part I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the reformed churches, who are come to a period in religion, and will go on pre-

Upon the receipt of this letter, the company were called together: And it was publickly read amongst them, which had good acceptance with all, and after fruit with many.

Of the troubles that befel the first planters upon the coast of England, and in their voyage in coming over into New-England, and their arrival at Cape Cod, alias Cape James.

ALL things being got ready, and every business despatched they ordered and distributed their company

ent, no further than the instruments of their reformation. The Lutherans cannot be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw: Whatever part of his will our good God has revealed to Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it. And the Calvinists, you see, stick fast where they were left, by that great man of God, who yet saw not all things.

"This is a misery much to be lamented; for though they were burning and shining lights in their times, yet they penetrated not into the whole counsel of God; but were they now living, would be as willing to embrace further light, as that which they first received. I beseech you, remember, it is an article of your church covenant, "That you be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known to you, from the written word of God." Remember that, and every other article of your sacred covenant. But I must, herewithal, exhort you to take heed what you receive as truth. Examine it, consider it, and compare it with other Scriptures of truth, before you receive it; for it is not possible that the Christian world should come so lately out of such thick antichristian darkness, and that perfection of knowledge should break forth at once.

"I must also advise you to abandon, avoid, and shake off the name of BROWNIST. It is a mere nick-name; and a brand for the making religion, and the professors of it, odious to the Christian world."

Mr. Prince gives an extract of this exhortation from Winslow's Relation, and subjoins the following remarks, which evidence the sound judgment and catholic temper of the venerable chronologist. "—Words almost astonishing in that age of low and universal bigotry which then prevailed in the English nation; wherein this truly great and learned man seems to be almost the only Divine, who was capable of rising into a noble freedom of thinking and practising in religious matters and even of urging such an equal liberty on his own people. He labours to take them off from their attachment to *him*, that they might be more entirely free to search and follow the Scriptures."

New Eng. Chron. 90.

for either ship (as they conceived for the best) and chose a governor, and two or three assistants for each ship, to order the people by the way, and to see to the disposing of the provision, and such like affairs; all which was not only with the liking of the masters of the ships, but according to their desires; which being done, they set sail from Southampton the fifth of August, 1620. But alas, the best enterprizes meet oftentimes with many discouragements; for they had not sailed far, before Mr. Reynolds, the master of the lesser ship, complained that he found his ship so leaky, he durst not put further to sea: On which they were forced to put in at Dartmouth, Mr. Jones the master of the biggest ship likewise putting in there with him, and the said lesser ship was searched, and mended, and judged sufficient for the voyage by the workmen that mended her: On which, both the said ships put to sea the second time, but they had not sailed above an hundred leagues, ere the said Reynolds again complained of his ship being so leaky, as that he feared he should founder in the sea, if he held on; and then both ships bore up again, and went in at Plymouth; but being there searched again, no great matter appeared, but it was judged to be the general weakness of the ship. But the true reason of the retarding and delaying of matters was not as yet discerned: The one of them respecting the ship (as afterwards was found) was, that she was over-masted, which when she came to her trim, in that respect she did well; and made divers profitable and successful voyages. But secondly, and more especially by the deceit of the master and his company who were hired to stay a whole year in the coun-

try; but now fancying dislike, and fearing want of victuals, they plotted this stratagem to free themselves, as afterwards was known, and by some of them confessed; for they apprehended that the greater ship being of force, and in whom most provisions were bestowed, that she would retain enough for herself, whatsoever became of them and the passengers: But so strong was self-love and deceit in this man, as he forgot all duty and former kindness, and dealt thus falsely with them. . . . These things thus falling out it was resolved by the whole company to dismiss the lesser ship, and part of the company with her, and that the other part of the company should proceed in the bigger ship; which when they had ordered matters thereunto, they made another sad parting, the one ship, viz. the lesser going back for London, and the other, viz. The Mayflower, Mr. Jones being master, proceeding on the intended voyage.

These troubles being blown over, and now all being compact together in one ship, they put to sea again with a prosperous wind;* but after they had enjoyed fair winds for a season, they met with many contrary winds and fierce storms, with which their ship was shrewdly shaken, and her upper works made very leaky, and one of the main beams of the mid-ships was bowed and cracked, which put them to some fear that she would not be able to perform the voyage; on which the principal of the seamen and passengers had serious consultation what to do, whether to return, or hold on: But the ship proving strong under water, by a screw the said beam was brought into his place

* September 6th. *Mourt's Rel.* *Bradford's M. S. Hist.*

again; which being done, and well secured by the carpenter, they resolved to hold on their voyage, and so after many boisterous storms in which they could bear no sail, but were forced to lie at hull many days together; after long beating at sea, they fell in with the land called Cape Cod,* the which being made, and certainly known to be it, they were not a little joyful. After some little deliberation had amongst themselves with the master of the ship, they tacked about to stand to the southward, to find some place about Hudson's river, (according to their first intentions) for their habitations: But they had not sailed that course above half a day, before they fell amongst perilous shoals and breakers, and they were so far entangled therewith, as they conceived themselves in great danger; and the wind shrinking upon them withal, they resolved to bear up again for the Cape aforesaid; the next day, by God's providence, they got into the Cape harbour. Thus they arrived at Cape Cod, alias Cape James, in November, 1620, and being brought safe to land, they fell upon their knees, and blessed the God of heaven, who had brought them over the vast and

* Cape Cod, so called at the first by Capt. Gosnold and his company, Anno. 1602, because they took much of that fish there; and afterward called Cape James, by Capt. Smith. The point of the Cape, is called Point Care, and Tucker's Terror; and by the French and Dutch Mallacur,* by reason of the perilous shoals. M.

* Sandy point in Chatham, called in ancient maps Cape Malebarre. On the beach which is terminated by this point there is a hut erected by the Trustees of the Humane Society of Massachusetts. This beach stretches ten miles into the Sea towards Nantucket, and is continually gaining south. As there is also a Sandy point in Nantucket, to prevent confusion, it is recommended by the accurate author of the Description of Chatham to revive the old name Malebarre, or Malebar, for the beach in that town.

Hist. Coll. VIII 117, 145.

furious ocean, and delivered them from many perils and miseries.*

Nevertheless, it is to be observed, that their putting into this place was partly by reason of a storm by which they were forced in, but more especially by the fraudulency and contrivance of the aforesaid Mr. Jones, the master of the ship; for their intention, as before noted, and his engagement, was to Hudson's river; but some of the Dutch having notice of their intentions, and having thoughts about the same time of erecting a plantation there likewise, they fraudulently hired the said Jones, by delays, while they were in England, and now under pretence of the danger of the shoals, &c. to disappoint them in their going thither:† But God out shoots Satan oftentimes in his own bow; for had they gone to Hudson's river, as before expressed, it had proved very dangerous to them; for although it is a place far more commodious, and the soil more fertile, yet then abounding with a multitude of pernicious savages, whereby they would have been in great peril of their lives, and so the work of transplanting the gospel into these parts much endangered to have been hindered and retarded; but God so disposed, that the place where they afterwards settled was much depopulated by a great mortality amongst the natives, which fell out about two years before their arrival, whereby

* They made the land November 9, and anchored in Cape Cod harbour on the 11th, on the same day they landed 15 or 16 men well armed to procure wood and reconnoitre the place. They found neither house nor person; but laden their boat with juniper.

Mourt's Rel.

† Of this plot, betwixt the Dutch and Mr. Jones, I have had late and certain intelligence. M.

he made way for the carrying on of his good purpose in promulgating of his gospel as aforesaid.

But before we pass on, let the reader, with me, make a pause, and seriously consider this poor people's present condition, the more to be raised up to admiration of God's goodness towards them in their preservation: For being now passed the vast ocean, and a sea of troubles before in their preparation, they had now no friends to welcome them, no inns to entertain or refresh them, no houses, much less towns, to repair unto to seek for succour: The Barbarians that Paul the apostle fell amongst in his shipwreck, at the isle Melita, *shewed him no small kindness*, Acts xxviii, but these savage Barbarians, when they met with them (as after will appear) were readier to fill their sides full of arrows, than otherwise; and, for the season it was winter, and they that know the winters of the country, know them to be sharp and violent, subject to cruel and fierce storms, dangerous to travel to known places, much more to search unknown coasts. — Besides, what could they see but a hideous and desolate wilderness, full of wild beasts and wild men? And what multitudes of them there were, they then knew not; neither could they, as it were, go up to the top of Pisgah, to view from this wilderness a more goodly country to feed their hopes; for which way soever they turned their eyes (save upward to heaven) they could have little solace or content in respect of any outward object, for summer being ended, all things stand in appearance with a weather-beaten face, and the whole country full of woods and thickets, represented a wild and savage hue; if they looked

behind them, there was the mighty ocean which they had passed, and was now as a main bar and gulf to separate them from all the civil parts of the world.— The master of the ship and his company pressing with speed to look a place for a settlement at some near distance, for the season was such that he would not stir from thence until a safe harbour was discovered by them with their boat; yea, it was sometimes threatened, that if they would not get a place in time, that they and their goods should be turned on shore, and that the ship would leave them; the master expressing himself, that provisions spent apace, and that he would keep sufficient for himself and his company for their return. It is true indeed, that the love and affections of their brethren they left behind them in Holland were cordial and intire towards them, but they had little power to help them, or themselves; what could now sustain them but the spirit of God and his grace? Ought not, and may not the children of these fathers rightly say, our fathers were Englishmen, which came over this great ocean, and were ready to perish in this wilderness; but they cried unto the Lord, and he heard their voice, and looked on their adversity: Let them therefore praise the Lord, because he is good, and his mercy endureth for ever; yea, let them who have been the redeemed of the Lord, shew how he hath delivered them from the hand of the oppressor, when they wandered in the desert wilderness out of the way, and found no city to dwell in; both hungry and thirsty, their soul was overwhelmed in them: Let them therefore confess before the Lord his loving kindness, and his wonderful works before the children of men, Psal. cvii, 1, 2, 4, 5, 8.

Of the first planters, their combination, by entering into a body politick together; with their proceedings in discovery of a place for their settlement and habitation.

BEING thus fraudulently dealt with (as you have heard) and brought so far to the northward, the season being sharp, and no hopes of their obtaining their intended port; and thereby their patent being made void and useless, as to another place: Being at Cape Cod upon the eleventh day of November, 1620, it was thought meet for their more orderly carrying on of their affairs, and accordingly by mutual consent they entered into a solemn combination, as a body politick, to submit to such government and governments, laws and ordinances, as should by a general consent, from time to time, be made choice of, and assented unto. The contents whereof followeth.*

IN the name of God, amen. We whose names are under written, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign Lord, King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the faith, &c. Having undertaken for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and the honour of our King and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia; do by these presents solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one another, covenant and combine ourselves together† into a civil body politick, for our bet-

* This was the first foundation of the government of New Plymouth. M.

† Unto—Prince—to—Mourt.

ter ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid: And by virtue hereof,* do enact, constitute and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions and officers,† from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony; unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names, at Cape Cod, the eleventh of November, in the reign of our sovereign Lord King James, of England, France and Ireland, the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty fourth, Anno. Dom. 1620.

John Carver,	Edward Tilly,	Digery Priest,
William Bradford,	John Tilly	Thomas Williams,
Edward Winslow,	Francis Cooke,	Gilbert Winslow,
William Brewster,	Thomas Rogers,	Edmund Margeson
Isaac Allerton,	Thomas Tinker,	Peter Brown.
Miles Standish,	John Ridgdale,	Richard Bitteridge,
John Alden,	Edward Fuller,	George Soule,
Samuel Fuller,	John Turner;	Richard Clark,
Christopher Martin,	Francis Eaton,	Richard Gardiner,
William Mullins,	James Chilton,	John Allerton
William White,	John Craxton,	Thomas English,
Richard Warren	John Billington,	Edward Doten,
John Howland,	Joses Fletcher,	Edward Leister,‡
Stephen Hopkins,	John Goodman,	

* *to*—Prince—Mourt. † *Office**s*. Mourt—Prince

‡ Mr. Prince's copy of this Instrument may be supposed most correct as he had Governour Bradford's M. S. History before him. He gives a correct list of the subscribers with their titles and the number in their respective families, copied from Governour Bradford's M. S. Mr. Prince's catalogue is here inserted.

The names thus marked (†) are of those, who brought their wives with them. Those, who died before the end of the next March, are distinguished by an asterism. Three of the company, Samuel Fuller, Richard Warren and Francis Cook, left their wives either in England or Holland. They probably afterward

After this they chose Mr. John Carver, a man godly and well approved amongst them, to be their governor for that year.

came over, as their husbands remained in the settlement. Governour Bradford, as Mr. Prince observes, modestly omits the title of Mr. to his own name, which he ascribes to several others.

Mr. John Carver†	8	Mr. *James Chilton†	3
William Bradford	2	*John Crackston	2
Mr. Edward Winslow†	5	John Billington†	4
Mr. William Brewster†	6	*Moses Fletcher	1
Mr. Isaac Allerton†	6	*John Goodman	1
Capt. Miles Standish†	2	*Degory Priest	1
John Alden	1	*Thomas Williams	1
Mr. Samuel Fuller	2	Gilbert Winslow	1
*Mr. Christopher Martin†	4	*Edward Margeson	1
*Mr. William Mullins†	5	Peter Brown	1
*Mr. William White†	5	*Richard Britteridge	1
Mr. Richard Warren	1	George Soule of E. Winslow's family.	
John Howland of Gov. Carver's family.		*Richard Clarke	1
Mr. Stephen Hopkins†	*8	Richard Gardiner	1
*Edward Tilly†	4	*John Allerton	1
*John Tilly†	3	*Thomas English	1
Francis Cook	2	Edward Dotey	
*Thomas Rogers	2	Edward Leister	
*Thomas Tinker†	3	Both of Stephen Hopkins' family.	
*John Ridgdale†	2		
*Edward Fuller†	3		
*John Turner	3		101
Francis Eaton†	3		

New Eng. Chron. 85.

From the same accurate compiler we collect the following bill of mortality to the end of March, when the fatal sickness, with which they were visited, subsided.

Deaths in December	6
January	8
February	17
March	13

44

This number comprises, of subscribers to the civil compact	21	
Dorothy, wife of W. Bradford	}	4
Rose, wife of Capt. Standish		
Mary, wife of Isaac Allerton		
Elizabeth, wife of Edward Winslow		
Women, children and servants, whose names are not known		19
		44

* One of these was a son born at sea, and therefore named Oceanus... Prince.

Necessity now calling them to look out a place for habitation, as well as the masters and mariners importunity urging them thereunto; while their carpenter was trimming up of their boat, sixteen of their men tendered themselves to go by land and discover those nearest places, which was accepted; and they being well armed, were sent forth on the sixteenth of November, 1620,* and having marched about a mile by the sea-side, they espied five Indians, who ran away from them, and they followed them all that day sundry miles, but could not come to speech with them; so night coming on, they betook themselves to their rendezvous, and set out their sentinels, and rested in quiet that night;† and the next morning they followed the Indians tracts, but could not find them nor their dwellings, but at length lighted on a good quantity of clear ground near to a pond of fresh water,‡ where formerly the Indians had planted Indian corn, at which place they saw sundry of their graves; and proceeding further they found new stubble where Indian corn had been planted the same year, also they found where lately an house had been, where some planks and a great kettle was remaining, and heaps of sand newly paddled with their hands, which they digged up and found in them divers fair Indian baskets filled with corn, some whereof was in ears, fair and good, of divers colours, which seemed to them a very goodly sight, having seen none before,§ of which rarities they took some

* Mount says the 15th of November. Captain Standish commanded on this expedition; among his associates were William Bradford, Stephen Hopkins, and Edward Tilley.

† Probably near Stout's creek. *Mass. Hist. Coll.* 8, 207.

‡ In *Truro*. It gives name to the principal village in that town. In the State Map it is erroneously made to communicate with the bay. *Ib.* 209.

§ The place where the graves were seen, is now known by the name of the Great Hollow; south of the Great Hollow is a hill terminating in a cliff, now called

to carry to their friends on shipboard, like as the Israelites spies brought from Eshcol some of the good fruits of the land; but finding little that might make for their encouragement as to situation, they returned, being gladly received by the rest of their company.

After this, their shallop being ready, they set out the second time for a more full discovery of this place, especially a place that seemed to be an opening as they went into the said harbour some two or three leagues off, which the master judged to be a river; about thirty of them went out on this second discovery, the master of the ship going with them; but upon the more exact discovery thereof, they found it to be no harbour for ships, but only for boats.* There they also found two of their houses covered with mats, and sundry of their implements in them; but the people ran away, and could not be seen. Also there they found more of their corn and beans of various colours; the corn and beans they brought away, purposing to give them full satisfaction when they should meet with any of them.† And here is to be noted, a special and a great mercy to this people, that here they got them seed to plant

Hopkins' Cliff, supposed to be the place where they found the baskets of Indian corn and on that account named Cornhill. *Hist. Col.* 8, 209, 210. The *great kettle*, which they found is supposed by Mourt to have been "some ships kettle." The editors of the second and third edition of the Memorial, not adverting to this probable conjecture, change it to a *little kettle*, perhaps as better corresponding to a supposition, that it was an Indian utensil.

* Pamet River, the entrance of which they had discovered in the first expedition, and which Mourt says, they named *Cold harbour*. At the request of the Rev. Dr. Freeman, editor of Mourt's relation as published in the Historical collections, the principal inhabitants of Truro agreed to revive the ancient name of *Cold Harbour*; and also the name of *Cornhill*, given by the discoverers to the place where they found the corn and beans which they conveyed to the ship.

† About six months after they gave them full satisfaction to their content. M

them corn the next year, or otherwise they might have starved, for they had none, nor any likelihood to get any until the season had been past, (as the sequel did manifest) neither is it likely that they had had this, if the first discovery had not been made, for the ground was now all covered with snow, and hard frozen; but the Lord is never wanting unto those that are his, in their greatest needs. Let his holy name have all the praise.*

Having thus discovered this place, it was controverted amongst them what to do, touching their abode and settling there. Some thought it best for many reasons to abide there.

1st. Because of the convenience of the harbour for boats, though not for ships.

2d. There was good corn ground ready to their hands as was seen by experience in the goodly corn it yielded, which again would agree with the ground, and be natural seed for the same.

3d. Cape Cod was like to be a place for good fishing, for they daily saw great whales of the best kind for oil.

4th. The place was likely to be healthful, secure and defensible.

5th, and lastly. The especial reason was, that now the heart of the winter and unseasonable weather was come upon them, so as they could not go upon coasting and discovery without danger of losing both men and boat, upon which ~~they~~ would follow the overthrow of all, especially considering what variable winds and sudden storms do there arise; also cold and wet lodging had so tainted their people, as scarce any of them

* For many particulars relative to this expedition contained in Mourt's Relation, but omitted in this narrative, See Appendix A.

were free from vehement coughs, as if they should continue long, it would endanger the lives of many, and breed diseases and infection amongst them. Again, that as yet they had some provisions, but they would quickly be spent, and then they should have nothing to comfort them in their labour and toil that they were like to undergo. At the first it was also conceived, whilst they had competent victuals, that the ship would stay, but when that grew low, they would be gone, and let them shift for themselves.

Others again urged to go to Agawam, alias Angawam,* a place about twenty leagues off to the northward, which they had heard to be an excellent harbour for ships, better ground and better fishing.

Secondly, for any thing they knew there might be hard by us a better seat, and it would be a great hindrance to seat where they should remove again.

But to omit many reasons and replies concerning this matter, it was in the end concluded to make some discovery within the bay, but in no case so far as Angawam. Besides, Robert Coppin, their pilot, made relation of a great navigable river and good harbour in the other headland of the bay, almost right over against Cape Cod, being in a right line not much above eight leagues distant, in which he had once been, and beyond that place they that were to go on discovery, were enjoined not to go.†

* Ipswich.

† About this time Mrs. Susanna White was delivered of a son, who was named Peregrine; he was the first of the English that was born in New-England, and still surviveth, [A. D. 1669.] and is the Lieutenant of the military company of Marshfield. M.—He died at Marshfield, July 20, 1704, aged 83 years and months. "He was vigorous and of a comely aspect to the last."

Boston News Letter, July 31, 1704, quoted in Belknap's Am. Biog. II. 192.

The month of November being spent on these affairs, and having much foul weather; on the 6th of December they concluded to send out their shallop again on a third discovery. The names of those that went on this discovery, were Mr. John Carver, Mr. William Bradford, Mr. Edward Winslow, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. John Howland, Mr. Richard Warren, Mr. Stephen Hopkins, Mr. Edward Tilly, Mr. John Tilly, Mr. Clark, Mr. Coppin, John Allerton, Thomas English, Edward Doten, with the master gunner of the ship, and three of the common seamen; these set sail on Wednesday the sixth of December, 1620; intending to circulate the deep bay of Cape Cod, the weather being very cold, so as the spray of the sea lighting on their coats, they were as if they had been glazed, notwithstanding that night they got down into the bottom of the bay, and as they drew near the shore they saw some ten or twelve Indians, and landed about a league off them, (but with some difficulty, by reason of the shoals in that place), where they tarried that night.

In the morning they divided their company to coast along, some on shore and some in the boat, where they saw the Indians had been the day before cutting up a fish like a Grampus; and so they ranged up and down all that day; but found no people, nor any place they liked, as fit for their settlement; and that night they on shore met with their boat at a certain creek where they made them a barricado of boughs and logs, for their lodging that night, and being weary betook themselves to rest.* The next morning, about five o'clock

* This is thought to be a place called Namskeket.* M.

* The correctness of this conjecture is doubted by Rev. Dr. Freeman. He thinks it more probable that the place was Great Meadow Creek, in Truro. Namskeket creek is in Orleans, forming part of the dividing line between that town and Harwich.
Hist. Coll. 8, 219.

(seeking guidance and protection from God by prayer) and refreshing themselves, in way of preparation, to persist on their intended expedition, some of them carried their arms down to the boat, having laid them up in their coats from the moisture of the weather; but others said they would not carry theirs until they went themselves: But presently all on a sudden, about the dawning of the day, they heard a great and strange cry, and one of their company being on board, came hastily in, and cried Indians! Indians! and withal, their arrows came flying amongst them; on which all their men ran with speed to recover their arms; as by God's good providence they did. In the meantime some of those that were ready, discharged two muskets at them, and two more stood ready at the entrance of their rendezvous, but were commanded not to shoot until they could take full aim at them; and the other two charged again with all speed, for there were only four that had arms there, and defended the barricado which was first assaulted. The cry of the Indians was dreadful,* especially when they saw their men run out of their rendezvous towards the shallop to recover their arms; the Indians wheeling about upon them; but some running out with coats of mail, and cuttle axes in their hands, they soon recovered their arms, and discharged amongst them, and soon stayed their violence. Notwithstanding there was a lusty man, and no less valiant, stood behind a tree within half a musket shot, and let his arrows fly amongst them; he was seen to shoot three arrows,

*"Their note was after this manner, *W' oach, woach, ha ha ch woach.*"

Mauri's Re'.

which were all avoided, and stood three shot of musket, until one taking full aim at him, made the bark or splinters of the tree fly about his ears; after which he gave an extraordinary shriek, and away they went all of them;* and so leaving some to keep the shallop, they followed them about a quarter of a mile, that they might conceive that they were not afraid of them, or any way discouraged.†

Thus it pleased God to vanquish their enemies, and to give them deliverance, and by his special providence so to dispose, that not any one of them was either hurt or hit, though their arrows came close by them; and sundry of their coats, which hung up in the baricado, were shot through and through: For which salvation and deliverance they rendered solemn thanksgiving unto the Lord.

From hence they departed, and coasted all along, but discerned no place likely for harbour, and therefore hasted to the place the pilot (as aforesaid) told them of, who assured them that there was a good harbour, and they might fetch it before night; of which they were glad, for it began to be foul weather.

After some hours sailing, it began to snow and rain, and about the middle of the afternoon the wind increased, and the sea became very rough, and they broke their rudder, and it was as much as two men could do to steer the boat with a couple of oars; but the pilot bid them be of good cheer, for he saw the harbour; but the storm increasing, and night draw-

* "We took up eighteen of their arrows, which we had sent to England, by Master Jones; some whereof were headed with brass, others with hart's horn, and others with eagle's claws." *Mourt's Rel.*

† This place, on this occasion, was called *the first encounter*. M.

ing on, they bore what sail they could to get in while they could see, but herewith they brake their mast in three pieces, and their sail fell overboard in a very grown sea, so as they had like to have been cast away; yet by God's mercy they recovered themselves, and having the flood with them, struck into the harbour. But when it came to, the pilot was decieved, and said, Lord be merciful to us, my eyes never saw this place before: And he and the master's mate would have run the boat ashore in a cove full of breakers before the wind,* but a lusty seamen, who steered, bid them that rowed, if they were men, about with her, else they were all cast away, the which they did with all speed; so he bid them be of good cheer, and row hard, for there was a fair sound before them, and he doubted not but they should find one place or other they might ride in safety. And although it was very dark, and rained sore, yet in the end they got under the lee of a small island, and remained there all night in safety.† But they knew not this to be an island until the next morning, but were much divided in their minds, some would keep the boat, doubting they might be amongst the Indians, others were so wet and cold they could not endure, but got on shore, and with much difficulty got fire, and so the whole were refreshed, and rested

* This was between the place called the Gurnet's nose and Sagaquab* by the mouth of Plymouth harbour. M.

† This was afterwards called Clark's Island, because Mr. Clark, the Master's mate, first stepped on shore thereon. M.

* Now called Saquish. This and the next following note which are separately inserted in the side margin in the first edition, are, in the two subsequent editions, absurdly blended together, and placed in the text at the end of the paragraph, thus confounding the sense, and leading the reader to suppose Clark's Island to be between the Gurnet and Saquish, which would be incorrect, Clark's Island being further within the harbour than Saquish.

in safety that night. The next day rendering thanks to God for his great deliverance of them, and his continued merciful good providence towards them; and finding this to be an island, it being the last day of the week, they resolved to keep the sabbath there.

On the second day of the week following, they sounded the harbour, and found it fit for shipping, and marched into the land, and found divers corn-fields, and little running brooks, a place (as they supposed) fit for situation, at least it was the best that they could find, and the season and their present necessity made them glad to accept of it.* So they returned to their

* "On Monday we found a very good harbour for our shipping. We marched also into the land and found divers corn-fields and little running brooks; a place very good for situation. This harbour is a bay greater than Cape Cod [harbour] compassed with goodly land, and in the bay two fine Islands uninhabited, wherein are nothing but woods, oak, pines, walnut, beech, sassafras, vines, and other trees which we know not. This bay is a most hopeful place; innumerable store of fowl and excellent good; and cannot but be fish in their seasons; skate, cod, turbot and herring we have tasted of; abundance of muscles the greatest and best we ever saw; crabs and lobsters in their time infinite: It is in fashion like a sickle or fish-hook." *Mourt's Rel. Sec. 23.*

The form of the harbour is correctly represented. There is now but one Island; but the shoals near the entrance of the harbour which bear the name of Brown's Islands, indicate the spot where probably the other Island was at that time situated. There is a tradition that there was once an Island at that place, and some old people in the vicinity tell of stumps of trees that were seen in their time on the shoal, which is often bare at low water. There are no turbot in that bay, or on the Coast. Dr. Freeman conjectures that the flounder or halibut was intended.

The place of this first landing at Plymouth is satisfactorily ascertained. Unquestionable tradition had declared that it was on a large rock, at the foot of a cliff near the termination of the north street leading to the water. In the year 1774 an attempt was made to remove this rock, (over which a wharf had been built) to a more central situation. The rock was split in the operation. The upper portion was removed and placed near the Court House; and is regarded by the Inhabitants and by Visitors as a precious memorial of that interesting event, the arrival of the first planters of New-England to their place of settlement. The 22d of December, corresponding to the 11th Old Style, has long been observed at Plymouth, and occasionally at Boston, in commemoration of the landing of the Fathers. The *New-England Society*, in the city of New-York, annually celebrate this day by an appropriate festival. At Plymouth it has universally the familiar and endearing appellation of *Forefather-Day*.

ship with this news to the rest of their people, which did much comfort their hearts.*

On the fifteenth of December they weighed anchor, to go to the place they had discovered, and arrived the sixteenth day in the harbour they had formerly discovered, and afterward took better view of the place, and resolved where to pitch their dwellings; and on the five and twentieth day of December began to erect the first house for common use, to receive them and their goods: And after they had provided a place for their goods and common store (which was long in unloading for want of boats, and by reason of foulness of the winter weather, and sickness of divers) they began to build some small cottages for habitation, as time would admit; and also consulted of laws and orders both for their civil and military government, as the necessity of their present condition did require.† But

* Mr. Prince notes the death of Dorothy, wife of William Bradford, under the date of December 7th. She fell from the ship and was drowned. It appears that this unhappy incident occurred while her husband was absent on this expedition.

† The narrative of their employments, at this interesting period, is too condensed to satisfy the inquisitive reader. A journal from the time of the arrival of the ship at Plymouth, to the end of the year is therefore here copied from Prince, who abridges Mourt's relation and Bradford's M. S. History.

"December 13. Monday they land with the master of the ship, and 3 or 4 sailors; march along the coast 7 or 8 miles, but see neither Wigwam, Indian, nor navigable river, but only 4 or 5 brooks of sweet fresh water running into the sea, with choice ground formerly possessed and planted, and at night return to the ship. Next day they go again to discover, some on land, others in the shallow, find a creek into which they pass 3 miles and return.

Dec. 20. After calling to Heaven for guidance, they go ashore again to pitch on some place for immediate settlement. After viewing the country they conclude to settle on the main, on a high ground facing the bay, where corn had been planted 3 or 4 years before; a sweet brook running under the hill with many delicate springs. On a great hill they intend to fortify which will command all around, whence they may see across the bay to the cape. And here, being on

December 20, they rendezvous this evening; but a storm rising, it blows and rains

that which was sad and lamentable, in two or three months time half their company died, especially in January and February, being the depth of winter, wanting houses and other comforts, being infected with the scurvy and other diseases, which this long voyage and their incommode condition had brought upon them, so as there died, sometimes two, sometimes three, on a day, in the aforesaid time, that of one hundred and odd persons, scarce fifty remained. Amongst others in the time fore named, died, Mr. William Mullins, a man pious and well deserving, endowed also with a considerable outward estate; and had it been the will of God that he had survived, might have proved an useful instrument in his place, with several others who deceased in this great and common affliction, whom I here take notice of to the like ef-

hard all night, continues so tempestuous for two days that they cannot get aboard, and have nothing to shelter them.

Dec. 21. Dies Richard Britteridge, the first who dies in this harbour.

Dec. 23. Saturday. As many as can, go ashore, cut and carry timber for a common building.

Dec. 24. Lord's day. Our people ashore are alarmed with the cry of savages, expect an assault, but continue quiet; and this day dies Solomon Martin, the sixth and last who dies this month.

Dec. 25. Monday they go ashore again, felling timber, sawing, riving, carrying. Begin to erect the first house about 20 feet square, for their common use, to receive them and their goods; and leaving 20 to keep a court of guard, the rest return aboard at evening; but in the night and next day, another sore storm of wind and rain.

Dec. 29. Thursday they go to work on the Hill; reduce themselves to 19 families; measure out their lots and draw for them. Many grew ill of grievous colds, from the great and many hard-ships they had endured.

Dec. 29 & 30. Very cold and stormy again; and they see great smoaks of fires made by the Indians about 6 or 7 miles off.

Dec. 31. Lord's day. Though the generality remain aboard the ship, almost a mile and a half off; yet this seems to be the first day that any keep the Sabbath in the place of their building; at this time we therefore fix the era of their settlement here."

New-Eng. Chron. 29, 30.

fect. Of those that did survive in this time of distress and calamity that was upon them, there was sometimes but six or seven sound persons, who (to their great commendation be it spoken) spared no pains night nor day to be helpful to the rest, not shunning to do very mean services to help the weak and impotent.* In which sickness the seamen shared also deeply, and many died, to about the one half of them before they went away. Thus being but few, and very weak, this was an opportunity for the savages to have made a prey of them, who were wont to be most cruel and treacherous people in all these parts, even like lions; but to them they were as lambs, God striking a dread in their hearts, so that they received no harm from them. The Lord also so disposed, as aforesaid, much to waste them by a great mortality, together with which were their own civil dissensions, and bloody wars, so as the twentieth person was scarce left alive when these people arrived, there remaining sad spectacles of that mortality in the place where they seated, by many bones and skulls of the dead lying above ground; whereby it appeared that the living of them were not able to bury their dead. Some of the ancient Indians, that are surviving at the writing hereof, do affirm, that about some two or three years before the first English arrived here, they saw a blazing star, or comet† which was a fore-runner of this sad mortality, for soon after it came upon them in extremity.‡

* Two of the seven, says Mr. Bradford, were Mr. Brewster their Reverend elder and Mr. Standish their Captain. *Prince's Chron.* 104.

† This seemeth to be the same that was seen about that time in Europe. M.

‡ This was probably the comet which appeared in November 1618, and continued visible two months or more. The comet of 1607, though of far less striking

Thus God made way for his people, by removing the heathen, and planting them in the land; yet we hope in mercy to some of the posterity of these blind savages, by being a means, at least stepping-stones, for others to come and preach the gospel among them; of which afterwards in its more proper place.* But to return,

The Indians, after their arrival, would shew themselves afar off, but when they endeavored to come near

appearance, might have been recollected by the ancient Indians with whom the author conversed; but that was ten years at least before the date generally assigned for the pestilence which desolated the country. We do not indeed, escape embarrassment by assuming the comet of 1618 to be the one intended; for the sickness which is expressly mentioned in the text, to be subsequent to that appearance, must, on that supposition, have been in 1619, only one year before the arrival of our Ancestors: but it is generally placed by our historical writers three or four years before that event. Dr. Belknap, in his life of Carver, says it was four years before their arrival; according to Prince, the *plague*, as he denominates it, was in the winter and spring of 1617, and Mr. Gookin says it was in 1612, and 1613. Perhaps we may be relieved from the difficulty by supposing that it commenced and raged in different places at different times, and that it did not prevail in or near the residence of those *ancient Indians* until 1619, to such a degree as to excite terror or alarm. On this hypothesis, however, we must look for some other location than Patuxet, for the Indians who gave this account; for in the first interview of our ancestors with Samoset, "He told us," says Mourt, "the place where we now live is called Patuxet, and that about *four* years ago all the inhabitants died of an extraordinary plague, and there is neither man woman or child remaining, as indeed we have found none." Those ancient Indians therefore were probably from some of the settlements on Cape Cod, where it is supposed, the pestilence appeared later, and certainly was of a less deadly character. The Nauset Indians we are informed, by a very accurate writer, appear in a great measure to have escaped the pestilence. (*Hist. Coll.* 8, 160.) The Narragansetts and the eastern tribes were entirely free from it. See *Note B. in Appendix.*

* "Our ancestors supposed an immediate interposition of Providence in the great mortality among the Indians to make room for the settlement of the English. I am not inclined to credulity; but should not we go into the contrary extreme if we were to take no notice of the extinction of this people in all parts of the continent? In some the English have made use of means the most likely to have prevented it, but all to no purpose. Notwithstanding their frequent ruptures with the English, very few, comparatively, have perished by wars. They waste, they moulder away, and as Charlevoix says of the Indians of Canada, they disappear."

Hutch. Hist. Mass. I. 33 note.

them they would run away.* But about the sixteenth of March 1621, a certain Indian, called Samoset, came boldly among them and spoke to them in broken English, which yet they could well understand;† at which they marvelled; but at length they understood that he belonged to the eastern parts of the country, and had acquaintance with sundry of the English fishermen, and could name sundry of them, from whom he learned his language. He became very profitable to them, in acquainting them with many things concerning the state of the country in the eastern parts, as also of the people here; of their names, number and strength, of their situation and distance from this place, and who was chief amongst them. He told them also of another Indian called Squanto alias Sisquantam,‡ one of this place, who had been in England, and could speak better English than himself: And after courteous entertainment of him he was dismissed: Afterwards he came again with some other natives, and told them of the coming of the great Sachem, named Massasoiet,§ who (about four or five days

* Two Indians were discovered from the ship, in the morning of January 31st. These were the first which they had seen at that place, and ran away, so that they could not speak with them. Afterward, and before Samoset's visit, some tools, which had been left in the woods, were missing, stolen probably by the Indians in the night.
Prince 98. Belknap's Biog. II. 208.

† His friendly greeting as he advanced to their rendezvous was *Welcome Englishmen—Welcome Englishmen.*

‡ Called *Tisquantum* in Moort and by Winslow.

§ We are here introduced to a character of such importance in this history, that the following criticism from Mr. Prince will not be thought too minute. "The printed accounts generally spell him—*Musausoit*. Governour Bradford writes him—*Massasoit* and *Massasoiet*: but I find the ancient people from their fathers in Plymouth colony pronounce his name *Mas-sas-so-it*." (*Chron.* 101.) It is difficult to keep precisely in the old paths. In the modern pronunciation of the name, the two last syllables are blended into one.

after) came with the chief of his friends and other attendants, with the aforesaid Squanto, with whom (after friendly entertainment and some gifts given him) they made a league of peace with him, which continued with him and his successors to the time of the writing hereof. The terms and conditions of the said league is as followeth:*

I. That neither he nor any of his, should injure or do hurt to any of their people.

II. That if any of his did any hurt to any of theirs, he should send the offender that they might punish him.

III. That if any thing were taken away from any of theirs, he should cause it to be restored, and they should do the like to his.

IV. That if any did unjustly war against him, they would aid him; and if any did war against them, he should aid them.

V. That he should send to his neighbour confederates, to inform them of this, that they might not wrong them, but might be likewise comprised in these conditions of peace.

VI. That when his men came to them upon any occasion, they should leave their arms (which were then bows and arrows) behind them.

VII. Lastly. That so doing, their sovereign Lord King James would esteem him as his friend and ally.*

All which he liked well, and withal at the same time acknowledged himself content to become the

* Of this see more in the year 1639. M.

† A similar abstract of the treaty is given in Mourt's relation. There is some difference in expression between that and Mr. Morton's or rather Governour

subject of our sovereign Lord the King aforesaid, his heirs and successors; and gave unto them all the lands adjacent, to them and their heirs for ever.

After these things he returned to his place called Sowams,* about forty miles distant from Plimouth, but Squanto continued with them, and was their interpreter, and proved a special instrument sent of God for their good, beyond expectation; he directed them in planting their corn, where to take their fish, and to procure their commodities; and also was their pilot to bring them to unknown places for their profit, and never left them until his death. He was a native of this place where Plimouth is, and scarce any left besides himself. He was carried away (with divers others) by one named Hunt,† a master of a ship, who

Bradford's summary, but none in the sense, excepting in the third and fifth articles. In the third article, according to Mourt, the security to the English merely has reference to their *tools*, that they should not be taken away by the Indians; and in the 6th article a just reciprocity is maintained, by providing that the English should leave their *pieces* behind them in their interviews with the Indians.

* In Winslow's Relation it is written *Sawaams*. The place was more commonly known by the name of Pokanoket. One of these words perhaps indicated a territory, and the other the residence of Massasoit, which was at Mount Hope, (or Mount Haupt as some think it should be written) in Bristol, R. Island.

† Thomas Hunt commanded one of the ships, with which Capt. Smith came to New-England in 1614. Smith sailed for England in July, and left Hunt with directions to procure a cargo, and to proceed to Spain. His atrocious procedure is thus related by Prince, from Smith, Mourt, &c. "After Smith left New-England, Hunt gets 20 Indians on board him at Patuxit, one of whom is called Squanto, or Squantum or Tisquantum, and 7 more at Nausit, and carried them to Malaga, and sells them for slaves at 20 pound a man, which raises such an enmity in the savages against our nation as makes further attempts of commerce with them very dangerous." (*Chron.* 40.) Smith, humane and generous as he was intrepid, indignantly reprobates the base conduct of Hunt. (*New-Eng. Trials.*) Many of these helpless captives, it appears, were rescued from slavery by the benevolent interposition of some of the Monks in Malaga. Squanto was probably one who was thus relieved and liberated. *Purch Lib.* 10, 1929.

thought to sell them for slaves in Spain, but he got away for England, and was entertained by a merchant in London,* and employed to Newfoundland and other parts; and at last brought hither into these parts by one Mr. Dermer, a gentleman employed by Sir Ferdinando Gorges and others, for discovery, and other designs in these parts; of whom I shall say something, because it is mentioned in a book set forth, anno. 1622, by the president and council for New-England, That he made the peace between the savages of those parts and the English, of which this plantation (as it is intimated) had the benefit: And what a peace it was may appear by what befel him and his men.

This Mr. Dermer was here the same year that these people came, as appears by a relation written by him, bearing date June 30, anno. 1620, and they arrived in the country in the month of November following, so that there was but four months difference. In which relation to his honoured friend, he hath these passages of this very place where New Plimouth is; "I will first begin (saith he) with that place from whence Squanto or Tisquantum was taken away, which in Captain Smith's map is called† Plimouth‡, and I would that

* This merchant's name was Mr. Staney. M. He was Treasurer of the Newfoundland Company.

† This name of Plimouth was so called not only for the reason here named, but also because Plimouth, in O. E. was the last town they left in their native country; and for that they received many kindnesses from some Christians there. M.

‡ Captain Smith explored the Coast from Penobscot to Cape Cod, in 1614, and gave the country the name of New-England. His description of New-England was published in 1616. In his map of the Coast, we find the name of Plimouth applied to this place. It is one of the few names given by that distinguished adventurer which remains unchanged. The Indian name of the place he says was

Plymouth had the like commodities. I would that the first plantation might here be seated, if there come to the number of fifty persons, or upwards; otherwise at Charlton, because there the savages are less to be feared. The Pocanakets, which live to the west of Plymouth, bear an inveterate malignity to the English, and are of more strength than all the savages from thence to Panobskut: Their desire of revenge was occasioned by an Englishman, who having many of them on board, made great slaughter of them with their murderers and small shot, when (as they say) they offered no injury on their parts. Whether they were English or no, it may be doubted; yet they believe they were, for the French have so possessed them: For which cause Squanto cannot deny but they would have killed me when I was at Namassaket,* had he not entreated hard for me. The soil of the borders of this great bay may be compared to most of the plantations which I have seen in Virginia. The land is of divers sorts; for Patuksett† is an heavy but strong

Accoanack. Our ancestors six years afterwards were told by Samoset that it was called Patuxet. This difference cannot now, perhaps, be satisfactorily explained. A valued friend at Plymouth, who has studied Indian etymologies, suggests, that *Accoanack* means *over the water*, and that Smith probably heard this word applied to the place where Plymouth is situated, when he was at Cape Cod. A similar meaning he observes will render the name pertinent to the territory in Virginia to which it was applied.

* Commonly written Namasket. This Indian settlement was in Middleborough, about 15 miles from Plymouth.

† Or Patuxet—Plymouth. Dermer's description of the soil could only be applicable to a narrow strip of land near the sea. In the greater part of the township the soil is poor.

soil; Nauset* and Satuket† are for the most part a blackish and deep mould, much like that where groweth the best tobacco in Virginia. In the bottom of the bay is great store of cod, bass or mullet, &c." And above all, he commends Pacannaket "for the richest soil, and much open ground, likely and fit for English grain. Massachusetts is about nine leagues from Plimouth, and situate in the midst: Between both is many islands and peninsulas, very fertile for the most part." With sundry such relations which I forbear to transcribe, being now better known than they were to him.

This gentleman was taken prisoner by the Indians at Mannamomet‡ (a place not far from Plimouth, now well known) he gave them what they demanded for his liberty; but when they had got what they desired, they kept him still, and endeavoured to kill some of his men, but he was freed by seizing on some of them, and kept them bound till they gave him a canoe load of corn: Of which see *Purch. lib. 9, fol. 1778*. But this was annö. 1619.

After the writing of the former relation, he came to the isle Capewak,§ which lieth south from this place,

* Nauset—Eastham; the north east part of the town retains the ancient Indian name.

† Satuket, or Sawkatucket the west part of Brewster, formerly Harwich.

‡ Probably Monamoyick—Chatham. In Derrice's letter to Purchas, of Dec. 27, 1619, the place where he was taken prisoner is called Manomack. *Purch. lib. 9.*

§ Now called Martin's Vineyard. M. This name is copied as it appears in the first edition. In the second and third editions, the common appellation of that island, Martha's Vineyard is substituted. That name was originally applied, by Gosnold, to the island which now bears the name of No-man's land. (*Amer. Biog. II, 111.*) Dr. Belknap informs us, that the large island, now called Martha's Vineyard, is frequently called *Martin's Vineyard*, especially by the old writers. He

in the way to Virginia, and the aforesaid Squanto with him; where he going on shore amongst the Indians to trade as he used to do, was assaulted and betrayed by them, and all his men slain, but one that kept the boat; but himself got on board very sore wounded, and they had cut off his head upon the cuddy of the boat, had not his man rescued him with a sword, and so they got him away, and made shift to get into Virginia, where he died, whether of his wounds, or the diseases of the country, or both, is uncertain. By all which it may appear how far this people were from peace, and with what danger this plantation was begun, save as the powerful hand of the Lord did protect them.*

appears to doubt whether this be a mistake, as is commonly supposed, and seems inclined to favor the conjecture, that the latter island took its name from *Martin Prieg*, who visited it in 1603, the next year after Gosnold's voyage. However this may be, the present name has so long and universally prevailed, that any change in the appellation is not to be expected or desired.

* Capt. Thomas Dermer had sailed with Smith in 1615, in a voyage for New-England which proved disastrous, they being captured by the French. In the spring of 1619, he was despatched by Sir F. Gorges, on account of the President and Council of New-England, in a ship of 200 tons, with Squanto on board. Arriving at Monhiggon, he sailed on the 26th of May, in a pinnace of five tons on a voyage of discovery along the coast. His objects are obscurely intimated in his letter to Purchas of December 27th, 1619. There is a hint given of a certain island which he had mentioned to Purchas, and, from several passages in the letter, it would seem that he had the discovery of some valuable mine constantly in view. "When I arrived, he says, at my savage's native country (finding all dead) I travelled alongst a days journey, to a place called Nummastaquyt, where finding inhabitants, I despatched a messenger, a days journey further west, to Pocanokit, which bordereth on the sea; whence came to see me two Kings, attended with a guard of fifty armed men, who being well satisfied with that my savage and I discoursed unto them, (being desirous of novelty) gave me content in whatsoever I demanded; where I found that former relations were true. Here I redeemed a Frenchman, and afterwards another at Massachusit, who three years since escaped shipwreck at the north-east of Cape Cod." One of the *two Kings* with whom Dermer had an intercourse, was doubtless Massasoit; the other, probably, was his brother Quadequina. Dermer returned from Patuxet to Monhiggon. Having despatched two ships to England, with a valuable cargo, he sail-

These things were partly the reasons why the Indians kept aloof, as aforesaid, and that it was so long ere they could come to speech with any of them: Another reason (as afterwards themselves made known) was, how that about three years before these first planters arrived, a certain French ship was cast away at Cape Cod, but the men got on shore, and saved their lives, and much of their victuals and other goods; but afterwards the Indians heard of it, and gathered together from these parts, and never left watching and dogging them, until they got advantage, and killed them all but three or four, which they kept and sent from one Sachem to another to make sport

ed in his pinnace for Virginia, with five or six men, and the two Frenchmen whom he had liberated. He left Squanto at Sawahquatook, probably Satucket, now Brewster. His adventure at Manamock or Monamoyick is related by Morton. Touching at Capewack, (Martha's Vineyard) he there met with *Epenow*, who, with another Indian, was taken off by Hallow in 1611, and returned with Captains Harley and Holson in 1614. "With Epenow, he had much conversation, and, as appears, greatly to his satisfaction. As he was in search of mines, Epenow perhaps amused him with some story similar to that which he told in England, to favour his restoration to his native country. Leaving Capewack, Capt. Darnier sailed along the coast between Long Island and the Main. Long Island had before been considered part of the continent. He arrived in James river, Sept. 7, and spent the winter in Virginia. The next spring (1620) he returned to New-England, exploring by the way "many goodly rivers and exceeding pleasant coasts and Islands, for 80 leagues east from Hudson's river." It does not appear from what place the letter of June 30, 1620, quoted in the text, was written. Returning to Virginia, he met with the cruel assault at Capewack, which the memorial relates. Gorges says, that Epenow was one of the savages concerned in this bloody action. But this is not mentioned by Smith, or in the relation published by the President and Council of New-England, by whom Darnier was employed. As to the manner of his death, which is left uncertain in the Memorial, according to that relation, after his second return to Virginia, for the cure of his wounds, "he fell sick of the infirmities of the place and thereof dyed." Smith characterises him as "an understanding and industrious gentleman," and in the relation above-mentioned, there is an acknowledgment of his magnanimity, integrity and worth.

Proc. ch. III. 9, 1778. Lib. 10, 1430. Smith's New-Eng. Hist. 223: Prince 60, 63, 67. Holmes's Annals I, 125.

with them, and used them worse than slaves; and they conceived this ship was now come to revenge it. Two of the said French so used were redeemed by the aforesaid Mr. Dermer, the other died amongst the Indians; and as the Indians have reported, one of them lived amongst them until he was able to discourse with them, and told them, that God was angry with them for their wickedness, and would destroy them, and give their country to another people, that should not live like beasts as they did, but should be clothed, &c. But they derided him and said, that they were so many that God could not kill them. His answer was, that though they were never so many, God had many ways to destroy them that they knew not.* Shortly after his death came the plague, a disease they never heard of before, and mightily swept away, and left them as dung upon the earth (as you have heard.) Not long after came the English to New-Plymouth, and then several of the Indians began to mind the Frenchman's words, thinking him to be more than an ordinary man. And as the first part of his speech had proved true, they began to be apprehensive of the latter, viz. the loss of their country. This relation the first planters at Plimouth, after they came to be acquainted with them, several of them heard from divers of their ancient and gravest Indians, and have often seen the place where the French were surprised and taken; which place beareth the name of Frenchman's Point with many to this day. This relation, for the verity thereof, being also very observa-

* A memorable passage of God's punishing of the heathen for their notorious blasphemy, and other sins. M.

ble, was thought meet to be here inserted, and let me add a word hereunto; that it is very observable likewise, that God hath very evidently made way for the English, by sweeping away the natives by some great mortalities; as first, by the plague here in Plimouth jurisdiction; secondly by the small-pox in the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, a very considerable people a little before the English came into the country; as also at Connecticut, very full of Indians a little before the English went into those parts; and then the Pequots by the sword of the English (as will appear in its place) and the country now mostly possessed by the English. I might also mention several places in the jurisdiction of New Plymouth, peopled with considerable companies of proper able men, since the first planters thereof came over, even in our sight, before they were in a capacity to improve any of their land, that have by the same hand of providence been cut off, and so their land even cleared for them, and now so replenished with their posterity, that places are too strait for them. By little and little (saith God of old to his people) will I drive them out from before thee, till thou be increased, and inherit the land, Exod. xxiii, 28, 29, 30.

But before I pass on let the reader take notice of a very remarkable particular, which was made known to the planters at Plimouth, some short space after their arrival, that the Indians, before they came to the English to make friendship with them, they got all the powaws in the country, who, for three days together, in a horrid and devilish manner did curse and execrate them with their conjurations; which assembly and ser-

vice they held in a dark and dismal swamp.* But to return.

The spring being now come, it pleased God that the mortality, which had taken away so many of the first planters at Plymouth, ceased, and the sick and lame recovered apace, which was, as it were, new life put into them; they having borne this affliction with much patience, being upheld by the Lord. And thus we are come unto the twenty-fifth of March, 1621.†

* Behold how Satan laboured to hinder the gospel from coming into New-England. M.

† Besides the M. S. History of Gov. Bradford, Mr. Prince, when he compiled his Chronology, was possessed of a Register, kept by the same gentleman, in which were recorded some of the first deaths, marriages, and punishments, and of three other miscellaneous volumes; from these materials and from other sources, particularly Mourt's Relation, he has presented many particulars, not inserted in the Memorial. The Journal commenced in the note page 49, is here continued to the end of March 1621, omitting such incidents as appear in the Memorial.

January 1, 1621. The people at Plymouth go betimes to work, and the year begins with the death of Degory Priest.

Jan. 3. Some abroad see great fires of Indians, and go to their corn-fields, but discover none of the savages; not having seen any since we came to this harbour.

Jan. 4. Captain Standish with 4 or 5 more, go to look for the natives, where their fires were made, find some of their houses, though not lately inhabited, but none of the natives.

Jan. 8. Francis Billington having the week before, from the top of a tree on a high hill, discovered a great sea as he thought, goes this day, with one of the master's mates, to view it; travel 3 miles to a large water divided into two lakes. The bigger 5 or 6 miles in compass, with an islet in it of a cable's length square. The other 3 miles in compass, and a brook issues from it. Find 7 or 8 houses, though not lately inhabited; and this day dies Mr. Christopher Martin. [The large pond from the exaggerated conception of the first discoverer, received the name of *Billington Sea*, which name it still retains. It is less than three miles from the town. A fine brook issues from it, and runs through the town, furnishing convenient mill seats, and several flourishing manufactures are now established on this stream. It would seem from Prince's summary, which is an abridgment from Mourt, that the brook issued from the smaller pond, called *Little Pond*, but this is a mistake.]

Jan. 9. We labor in building our town, in two rows of houses, for greater safety: dividéd by lot the ground we build on: agree that every man shall build his own house, that they may make more haste than when they work in common.

1621.

This year several of the Indian Sachems (besides Massasoiet, before named) came unto the government of New-Plymouth, and acknowledged themselves to be

Jan. 12. At noon. John Goodman and Peter Brown gathering thatch abroad, and not coming home after their companions, put us in great sorrow. Master Leaver with 3 or 4 more go to seek them, but can hear nothing of them: next day thinking the Indians had surprized them, we arm out 10 or 12 men after them, who go searching 7 or 8 miles, but return without discovery to our great discomfort.

Jan. 13. Having the major part of our people ashore, we purpose there to keep the public worship tomorrow. The two men who were lost in the woods ranged all the afternoon in the wet and cold; at night it snowing, freezing, and being bitter weather, they walked under a tree till morning; then travelled by many lakes and brooks. In the afternoon, from a high hill, they discover the two isles in our harbour, and at night get home, faint with travel and want of food and sleep, and almost famished with cold.

Jan. 14. Lord's day morning at six o'clock, the wind being very high, we on ship-board see our rendezvous in flames, and because of the loss of the two men, fear the savages had fired it, nor can we come to help them for want of tide till 7 o'clock: at landing hear good news of the return of our two men, and that the house was fired by a spark flying into the thatch, which instantly burnt it up. The greatest sufferers are Gov. Carver and Mr. Bradish.

Jan. 15. Monday. It rained much all day, that they on ship-board could not get on shore, nor they on shore do any labour, but were all wet. Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, (16th, 17th, 18th,) were very fair sun-shiny days, as if it had been in April; and our people, so many as were in health, wrought cheerfully.

Jan. 19. We resolved to make a shed to put our common provision in, of which some were already set on shore: but at noon it rained, that we could not work. John Goodman going abroad to use his lame feet, having a little spaniel with him, has a rencounter with two wolves: [This was one of the men who was lost in the woods. Mr. Prince inserts nothing from the 14th to the 21st of January; the chasm is supplied from the abridgment of Mourt in the Historical Collection. s. 225.]

Jan. 21. We keep our public worship ashore.

Jan. 29. Dies Rose, the wife of Capt. Standish.

This month eight of our number die.

Feb. 9. This afternoon our house, for our sick people, is set a fire, by a spark lighting on the roof.

Feb. 16. One of our people a fowling by a creek, about a mile and a half off, twelve Indians march by him towards the town. In the woods he hears the noise of many more; lies close 'till they are passed by, then hastens home and gives the alarm; so the people abroad return, but see none; only Capt. Standish and Fran-

loyal subjects of our sovereign Lord King James, and subscribed unto a writing to that purpose with their own hands; the tenour of which said writing followeth,

in Cook, leaving their tools in the woods and going for them, find the savages had taken them away, and towards night a great fire about the place where the man saw them.

Feb. 17. This morning we first meet for appointing military orders, choose Miles Standish for our captain, give him power accordingly; and while we are consulting, two savages presented themselves, on the top of the hill over against us, about a quarter of a mile off, making signs for us to come to them. We send Capt. Standish and Mr. Hopkins over the brook towards them, one only with a musket, which he lays down in sign of peace and parley; but the Indians would not stay his coming. A noise of a great many more is heard behind the hill, but no more come in sight.

Feb. 21. Dies Mr. William White, Mr. William Mullen with two more, and the 25th dies Mary the wife of Isaac Allerton.

This month 17 of our number die.

March 7. The Governour with five more go to the great ponds, and we begin to sow our garden seeds.

[March 16. The arrival of Samoset is noticed, as in the Memorial and in the note p. 52, with this addition, "says he is a Sagamore or Lord of Morattiggon, lying hence a days sail with a great wind, and five days by land, and has been in these parts eight months; at night we lodge and watch him.]"

March 17. This morning we send Samoset to the *Massasoits*, our next neighbors, whence he came, the *Nausites* are S. E. of us, being those by whom we were first encountered as before related; are much incensed against the English; about eight months ago slew three Englishmen, and two more hardly escaped to Menhiggon; they were Sir F. Gorges men as our savage tells us. He also tells us of the fight we had with the Nausites and of our tools lately taken away, which we required him to bring. This people are ill affected to us, because of Hunt, &c. he promises within a night or two to bring some of the *Massasoits* with beaver skins to trade. [The English not understanding Samoset perfectly, supposed that by *Massasoit* he meant an Indian tribe; but this was the name of the great sagamore.

Notes on Mount. H. Coll. 8.]

March 18. Samoset returns with five other men, who bring our tools with some skins and make shew of friendship; but being the Lord's day, we would not trade; but entertaining them, bid them come again and bring more, which they promise within a night or two: but Samoset tarries with us.

March 21. This morning, the Indians not coming, we send Samoset to inquire the reason. In his absence two or three savages present themselves on the top of the hill against us, with a shew at daring us; but Capt. Standish and another, with their muskets, going over, the Indians whet their arrows and make shew of defiance; but as our men advance they run away.

March 22. About noon, Samoset returns with Squanto and three others; bring a few skins and signify that their great Sagamore *Massasoit*, the greatest king of

with their names annexed thereunto. It being conceived, by some that are judicious, that it may be of use in succeeding times, I thought meet here to insert it.

the nation, bordering on us, is hard by with his brother Quadequina and their company. After an hour the king comes to the top of an hill over against us with a train of sixty men. We send Squanto to him who brings word that we should send one to parley with him. We send Mr. Edward Winslow to know his mind, and signify that our Governour desires to see him and truck, and confirm a peace. Upon this the King leaves Mr. Winslow in the custody of Quadequina, and comes over the brook with a train of 20 men, leaving their bows and arrows behind them. Capt. Standish and Master Williamson, with six musketeers, meet him at the brook, where they salute each other, conduct him to a house, wherein they place a green rug and three or four cushions. Then instantly come our Governour, with drum, trumpet and musketeer. After salutations, the Governour kissing him, they sat down. The Governour entertains him with some refreshments, and then they agree on a league of friendship, [here the heads of the treaty are inserted,] after this the Governour conducts him to the brook, where they embrace and part. But Quadequina coming with his troop, we entertain and convoy him back, receive our messenger and return the hostages. [The scene of this transaction is readily recognised, from the description. The hill mentioned, is now called Watson's hill; and an examination of the ground will enable any one to form a satisfactory conjecture as to the place of interview at the brook.]

March 23. This morning divers Indians, coming over, tell us the King would have some us of come and see him. Capt. Standish and Mr. Isaac Allerton go venturously to them, whom they welcome after their manner. About noon they return to their place called *Sowam*. The King is a portly man, in his best years, grave of countenance, spare of speech. And we cannot but judge he is willing to be at peace with us, especially because he has a potent adversary, the Narragansetts who are at war with him, against whom he thinks we may be some strength, our pieces being terrible to them. But Samoset and Squanto tarry. [*See Appendix C.*]

This day we meet on common business, conclude our military orders, with some laws, convenient for our present state, and choose, or rather confirm Mr. Carver our Governour for the following year.

March 24. Dies Elizabeth, the wife of Mr. Edward Winslow.

The first offence, since our arrival is of John Billington, who came on board at London, and in this month convicted before the whole company for his contempt of the Captains' lawful command, with opprobrious speeches; for which he is adjudged to have his neck and heels tied together: but upon humbling himself and craving pardon, and it being his first offence, he is forgiven.

This month thirteen of our number die.

[We may infer from a perusal of Mourt's Journal, and of the records made by Bradford, that this memorable winter was, happily, very mild. It was, says Mr. Dudley, in a letter to the Countess of Lincoln, "a calm winter, such as was never seen here since." This letter was written from Boston in 1630.]

September 13, Anno Dom. 1621.

Know all men by these presents, that we, whose names are under-written, do acknowledge ourselves to be the royal subjects of King James, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. In witness whereof, and as a testimonial of the same, we have subscribed our names or marks, as followeth;

<i>Ohquamehud,</i>	<i>Nattawahunt,</i>	<i>Quadaquina,</i>
<i>Caunacome,</i>	<i>Caunbatant,</i>	<i>Huttmoiden,</i>
<i>Obbatinnua</i>	<i>Chikkatabak,</i>	<i>Apannow.*</i>

Now followeth several passages of the providence of God to, and the further progress of, the first planters at Plimouth, appertaining to the year 1621.

THEY now began to hasten the ship away, which tar-
ried so long by reason of the necessity and danger that

* Obbatinnua or Obbatinowak, was one of the Massachusetts Sachems, his residence was on or near the peninsula of Shawmut, (Boston.)

Chikkatabak or Chicketawbut, was the sagamore of Neponset; and is frequently mentioned in the History of Massachusetts. He died of the small-pox in November 1633. These Massachusetts Sachems were not completely independent, but acknowledged a degree of subjection to Massasoit.

Caunbatant or Corbitant. His residence was at Mattapuyst, a neck of land in the township of Swansey. Mr. Winslow who had frequent conferences with him, at his wigwam and at other places, represents him as a hollow-hearted friend to the Plymouth planters, "a notable politician, yet full of merry jests and squibs, and never better pleased than when the like are returned again upon him."

Quadaquina was the brother of Massasoit.

Of the other five Sachems who signed the instrument of submission, no satisfactory account can be given. In Mourt's Relation as quoted by Mr. Prince it is said—"yea Massasoit in writing under his hand to Capt. Standish, has owned the King of England to be his Master, both he and many other kings under him, as of Pannet, Nawsct, Cummaquid, Namasket, with divers others who dwell about the bays of Patuxet and Massachusetts; and all this by friendly usage, love and peace, just and honest carriage, good counsel, &c.

Chron. 112.

lay on them, because so many died both of themselves and the ship's company likewise; by which they became so few, as the master durst not put to sea until those that lived recovered of their sickness and the winter over.*

The spring of this year they planted their first corn in New-England, being instructed in the manner thereof by the fore-named Squanto; they likewise sowed some English grain with little success, by reason partly of the badness of the seed, and lateness of the season, or some other defect not then discerned.†

In the month of April, in this year, their governour, Mr. John Carver, fell sick, and within a few days after died, whose death was much lamented, and caused great heaviness amongst them, and there was indeed great cause. He was buried in the best manner they could, with as much solemnity as they were in a capacity to perform, with the discharge of some volleys of shot of all that bare arms. This worthy gentleman was one of singular piety, and rare for humility, as appeared by his great condescendency, when as this poor people were in great sickness and weakness, he shunned not to do very mean services for them, yea, the meanest of them: He bare a share likewise of their labour in his own person, accordingly as their extreme necessity required; who being one also of a considerable estate, spent the main part of it in this enterprize, and from first to last approved himself not only as their agent in the first transacting of things, but also all along to the period of his life, to be a pious,

* The ship sailed April 5th, and arrived in England May 6th.

† Twenty acres of Indian corn were planted, of which they had a good crop.

faithful, and very beneficial instrument and now is reaping the fruit of his labour with the Lord.*

His wife, who was also a gracious woman, lived not six weeks after him; she being overcome with excessive grief for the loss of so gracious an husband, likewise died.

In some short distance of time after this, Mr. William Bradford was chosen Governour of Plimouth in his stead, being not as yet well recovered of his weakness, having been at the point of death, and Mr. Isaac Allerton likewise was chosen to be his assistant.

The second of July in this year they sent Mr. Edward Winslow and Mr. Stephen Hopkins, unto the great Sachem Massasoit aforesaid, with a gratuity, to congratulate with him, and to view his country, and likewise to take notice of what strength of men he had, &c. having Squanto for their guide, who found his place to be about forty miles from New-Plimouth, his people few in comparison of what they had been, by reason of the mortality amongst the Indians fore-mentioned. These brought word, upon their return, of the Narragansets, a people that lived on the other side of that great bay, which are a people strong and many in number, living compact together, and had not at all been touched with the wasting plague before specified. They also brought a full intelligence in reference unto

* Governour Carver was taken sick in the field, while they were engaged in their planting. Many able pens have been employed in portraying his character. One of his grandsons lived to the age of one hundred and two years: and about the middle of the last century (1775) that descendant, with his son, grandson, and great-grandson were all at the same time at work, in the same field, whilst an infant of the fifth generation was within the house at Marshfield.

Belknap's Amer. Biog. II. 216.

the particulars they were sent about, and so returned in safety.*

Thus their peace being well established with the natives about them, which was much furthered by an Indian named Hobamak,† who came to live amongst the English, he being a proper lusty young man, and one that was in account amongst the Indians in those parts

* Mr. Prince, in order to reconcile the different accounts of this mission, finds it necessary to conclude, that the messengers did not commence their journey until Tuesday, the 3d of July. They lodged the first night near a ware on Taunton river among the Namaschuks, and were kindly entertained. The next day after travelling six miles by the river to a "known shoal place," they waded across the river, and arrived that night at Massasoit's residence at Pokanokik, (Bristol.) The next day, Thursday, was spent with the great Sagamore, who was accompanied by his petty Sachems. Conversation on matters of publick policy was relieved by exhibitions of their games. On Friday morning they took their leave, Massasoit retaining Squanto to procure truck for them, appointed Tockamahamon in his place. They reached the ware that night and arrived home on Saturday.

Mourt's Rel. Prince. 106, 107.

[See Appendix D.]

* Mr. Winslow calls Hobamak a Pinese or chief captain of Massasoit. He came among them, in July, after the mission to Pokanoket.

Soon after his arrival Hobamak and Tockamahamon accompanied a party of ten men who were despatched by the Governour to Nauset, to recover a boy, (John Billington) who had been lost in the woods, and of whom Massasoit sent information, that he was at Nauset. The pinnace put in at Cummaquid, (Barnstable.) They were kindly received by Iyanough, the Sachem of Cummaquid, sometimes called Iyanough of Matakies, the country between Barnstable and Yarmouth harbours. Proceeding to Nauset, (Eastham) they were met by Aspinet the Sachem of that place with a numerous train bringing the boy, one bearing him through the water to deliver him to his friends. Iyanough, who accompanied them to Nauset, is described as "not exceeding twenty-six years of age, very personable, gentle, courteous, and fair-conditioned, indeed, not like a savage save for his attire. His entertainment was answerable to his parts, and his cheer plentiful and various." (*Mourt*, 58. See Appendix E.) Hearing a rumour at Nauset, that Massasoit had been attacked by the Narragansets and made prisoner, the party returned home with all possible despatch. Similar accounts were received at Plymouth, and that Corbitant who had been suspected of a criminal familiarity with the Narragansets, was conspiring to detach the Nauset Indians from their allegiance, and to break off their friendly connexion with the English: That he stormed at Squanto, who was instrumental in making it, and at Tockamahamon and Hobamak.

Mourt 58—61. *Prince* 107—109.

for his valour, continued faithful and constant to the English until his death. He, with the said Squanto, being sent amongst the Indians about business for the English, were surprised by an Indian Sachem named Corbitant, who was no friend to the English; he met with him at Namassaket, and began to quarrel with him, and offered to stab Hobamak, who being a strong man, soon cleared himself of him; and with speed came and gave intelligence to the Governour of Plymouth, saying he feared that Squanto was slain, for they were both threatened, and for no other cause, but that they were friends to the English, and serviceable to them. On which it was thought meet to vindicate their messengers, and not to suffer them to be thus wronged, and it was concluded to send some men to Namassaket well armed, and to fall upon them; whereupon fourteen men being well prepared, were sent, under the conduct of Capt. Miles Standish, who, when they came thither, beset the house, and the said Captain entered into the same to look for the said Corbitant, but he was fled, and so they missed of him; but understood that Squanto was alive; so they withheld, and did no hurt, save three of the natives, pressing out of the house when it was beset, were sorely wounded; which they brought home to their town with them, and were dressed by their surgeon, and cured.*

* Squanto and Hobamak were despatched to make enquiry respecting Massasoit. On their way, lodging at Namasket, they were discovered by Corbitant, and in the subsequent particulars the narrative in Mourt corresponds with the Memorial. Squanto's dwelling was at Namasket, and it is mentioned in Mourt, that Capt. Standish and his party, while at that place, breakfasted at his house.

After this they had many congratulations from divers Sacherns, and much firmer peace, yea those of the isle of Capewak sent to make friendship with them, and this Corbitant himself used the mediation of Massasoit to make his peace, but was shy to come near them a long time after.*

After this, on the eighteenth of September, they sent out their boat to the Massachusetts with ten men, and Squanto for their interpreter, to discover and view that bay, and to trade with the natives; and found kind entertainment with them, who expressed themselves to be much afraid of the Tarateens, a people in the Eastern part of New-England, which used to come in harvest time and take away their corn, and many times kill some of their people; who after they had accomplished their business, returned in safety, and made report of the place, wishing they had been there seated.† But the Lord, who assigns to all men the bounds of their habitations, had appointed it for another end and use.

* "Yea Canonicus, chief Sachem of the Narragansets, sends a messenger to treat of peace." *Mourt's Rel. cited by Prince*, 111.

† They arrived in the harbour of Shawmut (Boston) the next day, and anchored under a cliff, which Dr. Belknap supposes to be Copp's Hill. Here they had an interview with Obbatinnua, one of the parties to the submission signed a few days before at Plymouth. He renewed his submission, receiving a promise of defence against his enemies, particularly against the Squaw Sachem of Massachusetts. They visited the seat of the late King Nanepashemet, who had been slain in one of the incursions of the Tarrateens. The house was on a large scaffold on the top of a hill, secured by a trench and palisades. The place here indicated is supposed to be in Dorchester. The Islands had been inhabited and were entirely cleared for cultivation, but their inhabitants were at that time all dead or removed. They collected a quantity of beaver, and on the 20th in the evening, having the benefit of a light moon, set sail, and arrived at Plymouth before noon the next day.

And thus they found the Lord to be with them in all their ways, and to bless their out-goings and in-comings: For which let his holy name have the praise for ever.

Being now well recovered in respect of health (as hath been said) they began to fit up their buildings against winter, and received in their harvest, and had great plenty of fowl and fish, to their great refreshing.

About the ninth of November came in a small ship to them unexpected,* in which came Mr. Robert Cushman, who was both a godly man, and an active and faithful agent, and useful instrument in the common interest of this first design; and there came with him in that ship, thirty-five persons, to remain and live in the plantation; which did not a little rejoice the first planters.† And these when they came on shore, and found all well, and saw plenty of provisions beyond their expectation, were also satisfied and no less glad; for coming in at Cape Cod before they came to Plymouth, and seeing nothing there but a barren place, they then began to think what should become of them, if the people were cut off by the Indians; and began to consult upon some passages, which some of the sea-

* This ship was called the Fortune, in which came no provisions, which was one cause of a great famine that befel the plantation of New-Plimouth soon after. M.

† The ship Fortune sailed from England, early in July, but owing to head winds was not clear of the channel till the end of August. Mr. Weston, in letter to Gov. Carver, dated London, July 6, informs him that the adventurers had procured for them a Charter, "the best we could—better than your former, and with less limitations." This intimation refers to a patent from the President and Council of New-England to John Pierce and his associates, which was in trust for the company. It was probably brought in this ship, and was a few years since found among the old papers in the Land Office at Boston, by William Smith, Esq. one of the land Committee. It bears date, June 1, 1621. [*See Appendix F.*]

men had cast out, to take the sails from the yards, lest the ship should get away and leave them; but the master hearing thereof, gave them good words, and told them, if any thing but well should have befallen the people at Plymouth, he hoped he had provisions enough to carry them to Virginia, and whilst he had any, they should have their part, which gave them good satisfaction.

This ship stayed at Plymouth not above fourteen days,* and returned; and soon after her departure, the people called the Narragansets, aforesaid, sent messengers unto the plantation, with a bundle of arrows, tied together with a snake's skin, which their interpreter Squanto told them was a threatening and a challenge; upon which the governor of Plymouth sent them a rough answer, viz. That if they loved war rather than peace, they might begin when they would,

* To render the time here mentioned consistent with other accounts, and with the date of a letter from Mr. Winslow, sent by this ship, Mr. Prince finds it necessary to suppose that Mr. Bradford, (from whose account this part of the Memorial was compiled) must have meant fourteen days from the time of her being unladen, and that she sailed Dec. 13. Her cargo was valued at 500*l*. consisting of furs, clapboards, and sassafras. Near the English Coast the ship was captured and carried into France. Mr. Cushman returned in the ship, as the adventurers had directed, to give them information respecting the plantation. While at Plymouth he delivered a very pungent discourse on the sin and danger of self-love. It was printed in London in 1622, and there have been two editions of it in this country. The last edition was printed at Plymouth, in 1785, with an Appendix, giving some account of the author. Dr. Belknap remarks that Mr. Cushman's sermon may be considered as a specimen of the "prophesyings" of the brethren: some extracts from the sermon are annexed to his life of Cushman. (*Amer. Biog. II. 274.*) The late Isaac Lothrop, Esq. of Plymouth, often mentioned an intimation, received from an aged relative, as to the spot where that sermon was delivered. It was at the common house of the plantation, which is understood to have been erected on the southerly side of the bank, where the town brook meets the harbour. Mr. Lothrop died in 1808, aged 73. Not many years before his death he had the satisfaction of being called to view sundry tools and implements which were dug up at that spot, and which he carefully preserved.

they had done them no wrong, neither did they fear them, nor should they find them unprovided; and by another messenger sent the snake's skin back again, with bullets in it, but they would not receive it, but sent it back again.* It is probable the reason of this their message to the English was their own ambition, who since the death of so many Indians, thought to domineer and lord it over the rest, and conceived the English would be a bar in the way, and saw that Massasoit took shelter already under their wings.† But this made the English more carefully to look to themselves, so they agreed to close their dwellings with a good strong pale, and made flankers in convenient places, with gates to shut, which were every night locked, and a watch kept, and when need required there was also warding in the day time; and the company was by the governour and captains advice, divided into four squadrons, and every one had their quarter appointed them, unto which they were to repair; and if there should be any cry of fire, a company was appointed for a guard with muskets, whilst others quenched the

* The Narragansets, says Winslow, were reported to be many thousands strong. The messenger sent by Canonicus, was accompanied by the friendly Indian, Tockamahamon. The messenger inquired for Squanto, who was absent. The bundle of arrows was left for him, and the messenger departed without any explanation. When Squanto returned, and the dubious present was delivered to him, he immediately understood the object. The Rev. Dr. Holmes (Annals, I. 220.) notices a coincidence in the form of this challenge with that of the challenge given by the Seythian prince to Darius. Five arrows made a part of the present sent by his herald to the Persian king.

† In addition to the anxieties arising from the hostile threats of an enemy so formidable; there was much solicitude relative to the means of subsistence. Immediately after the departure of the ship, taking an estimate of their provisions, it was found necessary to put themselves and the new comers on half allowance.

fire; the same to prevent *Indian* treachery.* And herewith I shall end the passages of this year.†

1622.

At the spring of this year the English having certified the Indians of the Massachusetts, that they would come again unto them they accordingly prepared to go thither; but upon some rumours which they heard from Hobamak their friend fore-named, who feared that the Massachusetts were joined with the Narragansets, and might betray them if they were not careful; and intimated also his jealousies of Squanto, by what he gathered from some private whisperings between him and other Indians, that he was not really cordial to the English in what he pretended, made them cautious. Notwithstanding, they sent out their boat, with ten of their principal men, about the begiu-

* The word *Indian* is in Italics, in the first edition; Mr. Winslow omits it; so, also did Gov. Bradford, if correctly abridged, in this passage, by Mr. Prince. That apprehensions of treachery, had reference not merely to Indians, is evident from the account given of a fire in the town, in Nov. 1623.

† According to the Calendar, at that time in use, the year commenced on the 25th of March. In the current style, the incidents recorded in the memorial as of this year, after the departure of the ship, would fall under January and February 1622. The empalement of the town was commenced, and nearly completed in February. Sometime in March, Gov. Bradford makes this record, "By this time our town is impaled, inclosing a garden for every family."

The following entries, belonging to 1621, are copied by Mr. Prince, from Gov. Bradford's register.

May 21. The first marriage in this place is of Mr. Edward Winslow to Mrs. Susanna White.

June 18. The second offence is the first *duel* fought in New-England, upon a challenge by single combat, with sword and dagger, between Edward Doty and Edward Leister, servants of Mr. Hopkins; both being wounded, the one in the hand, the other in the thigh. They are adjudged by the whole company to have their head and feet tied together, and so to lie for twenty-four hours, without meat or drink; which is begun to be inflicted, but within an hour, because of their great pains, at their and their master's humble request, upon promise of better carriage, they are released.

ning of April,* and both Squanto and Hobamak with them in regard of the jealousy between them; but they had not been gone long, ere that an Indian belonging to Squanto's family came running, seeming to be in great fear, and told them that many of the Narragansets, with Corbitant, (and he thought Massasoit) was coming against them:† at which they betook themselves to their arms, and supposing that the boat was not yet out of call, they caused a piece of ordinance to be discharged, to call them in again;‡ but this proved otherwise, for no Indians came. After this they went to the Massachusetts, and had good trade, and returned in safety, God be praised.

But by the former passages and things of like nature, they began to see that Squanto sought his own ends, and played his own game, by putting the Indians in fear, and drawing gifts from them to enrich himself; making them believe he could stir up war against them when he would, and make peace for them when he would; yea, he made them believe, that the English kept the plague buried in the ground;§ and could send

* Captain Standish had the command of the shallop despatched on this occasion.

† He had his face wounded, says Mr. Winslow, and the blood fresh upon it, calling to the people abroad to make haste home; said he had received the wound in his face for speaking for the English, and looking frequently back as if the assailants were just behind him.

‡ They had passed the Gurnet when they heard the alarm gun, and returned prepared for action. Hobamak was positive that it was all a fiction, as it proved. He was a Pinese, he said, (or Paniese as it is written by Winslow) and that such an enterprize would not be undertaken by Massasoit without consulting him. At the request of the Governour he sent his wife to Pockanokik, pretending other business, to inform herself of the true state of things. She found all quiet, and that no mischief was intended. She then informed Massasoit of what had occurred at Plymouth, who was much offended with Squanto for his conduct.

§ This was said to be a barrel of gun-powder buried in the ground. M.

it amongst whom they would, which did much terrify the Indians; and made them more depend on him and seek more to him than to their great Sachem Massasoit; which procured him envy, and had like to have cost him his life; for after the discovery of these practices, the said Massasoit sought it both privately and openly; which caused him to stick close to the English, and never after durst go from them until his death. They also made good use of the emulation that grew between Hobamak and him, which made them both carry more squarely; and the governour seemed to countenance the one, and their captain the other; by which they had the better intelligence, and made them both the more diligent.*

About the latter end of May they espied a vessel at sea, which at the first they thought to be a Frenchman, but it proved one that belonged to Mr. Thomas Weston, a merchant; which came from a ship which he and another had sent out on fishing to a place called Damarels Cove* in the eastern parts of New-England.† This boat brought seven men, and some letters,

* When the pinnace returned from Massachusetts, Massasoit was on a visit at Plymouth. His resentment against Squanto remained unabated, and he demanded his life, but the Governour refused to surrender him. After his return home he sent messengers to repeat the demand, asserting his claim to Squanto as a subject, and pleading the articles of the treaty, as requiring his surrender for punishment. The demand was urged in such a manner, that the Governour was about delivering him, when a shallop appeared in the offing; the Governour having heard many rumours of the French, and doubtful whether there were not combinations between them and the savages, refused to deliver Squanto until he should first have ascertained what boat it was that was approaching. Thus Squanto escaped, for the messengers, vexed with the delay, immediately departed in great rage.
Winslow's Rel. 243.

† Damarels's Cove, (Winslow,) between Sheepscut and Damariscotta rivers, between three and four leagues west of Monheiggon.

‡ The name of the ship from which the boat came, was the Sparrow, fitted out by Mr. Weston and Mr. Beauchamp. There are, says Mr. Winslow, 30 sail of ships a fishing this year at the Eastward.

but no provisions to them, of which they were in continual expectation from England, which expectations were frustrated in that behalf; for they never had any supply to any purpose after this time, but what the Lord helped them to raise by their industry among themselves; for all that came afterwards was too short for the passengers that came with it.*

† After this the same year, the above-named Mr. Thomas Weston, who had formerly been one of the merchant-adventurers to the plantation of New-Plimouth (but had now broken off and deserted the general concerns thereof) sent over two ships, the one named the Sparrow;‡ the other the Charity, on his own particular interest; in the one of them came sixty lusty men, who were to be put on shore at Plimouth, for the ship was to go with other passengers to Virginia; these were courteously entertained (with the seven men fore named, belonging to the said Weston,) at Plimouth aforesaid until the ship returned from Virginia, which was the most part of that summer; many of them being sick, and all of them destitute of habitation, and unacquainted with this new beginning; at the ships return from Virginia, by the direction of the said Mr. Weston their master, or such

* "About the end of March," says Mr. Winslow, "our store of victuals was wholly spent, having lived long before with a bare and short allowance." He remarks on the insufficient stock of provisions, brought by the *Fortune* in November, but suggests an apology for the merchant adventurers in England; "cert 'n among ourselves," he adds, "were too prodigal in their writing and reporting that plenty we enjoyed."

† This paragraph appears to be misplaced. Weston's two ships arrived in June or July, after the return of Mr. Winslow from his eastern voyage.

‡ It should be the *Swan*. In one of these ships comes a letter from Mr. Pierce, in whose name the patent was taken, signifying that whom the Governour admits into the Association, he will approve.

as he had set over them, they removed into the Massachusetts Bay, he having got a patent for some part there, yet they left all their sick folks at Plimouth, until they were settled and fitted for housing to receive them. These were an unruly company, and no good government over them, and by disorder fell into many wants as afterwards will appear.*

But before I pass on, I may not omit the mentioning of a courteous letter that came in the vessel above-named, in which the above-said seven men came, being directed to the Governour of Plimouth, with respect unto the whole plantation, from a Captain of a ship at the Eastward, who came thither on a fishing voyage; the which for the ingenuity of the man, and his courtesy therein expressed, may not unfitly be here inserted, being inscribed as followeth:

To all his good Friends in Plimouth.

FRIENDS, countrymen and neighbours, I salute you, and wish you all health and happiness in the Lord. I make bold with these few lines to trouble you, because unless I were inhuman, I can do no less. Bad news doth spread itself too far, yet I will so far inform, that myself with many good friends in the south colony of Virginia have received such a blow, that four hundred persons large will not make good our losses.† Therefore I do entreat you, although not

* Weston's men had a bad character from various quarters. See extracts from Mr. Cushman's and Mr. Pierce's letters in Prince 120, and of one from Mr. Weston himself, in which he owns that "many of them are rude and profane fellows."

† The massacre in Virginia was on the 27th of March 1622. Three hundred and forty seven of the English were slain by the Indians. "The massacre was com-

knowing you, that the old rule, which I learned when I went to school, may be sufficient, that is *Happy is he who other men's harms do make to beware*: And now again and again, wishing all those that willingly would serve the Lord, all health and happiness in this world, and everlasting peace in the world to come,

I rest yours,

JOHN HUDSTON.

In the same vessel the governour returned a thankful answer, as was meet, and sent a boat of their own with them, which was piloted by them; in which Mr. Edward Winslow was sent to procure what provisions he could of the ship, who was kindly received by the aforesaid gentleman, who not only spared what he could, but wrote to others to do the like; by which means the plantation had a good quantity of provisions.*

This summer they built a fort with good timber, both strong and comely, which was of good defence,

dicted with indiscriminate barbarity. No regard was shown to dignity; no gratitude for benefits. Six of the counsel were slain, one of whom, Mr. George Thorpe, a very respectable and pious man, who had the principal management of the lands and affairs of the college had been a distinguished friend and benefactor of the Indians."

Holmes's Annals. I. 922.

* Although this was not much amongst them all, yet it was a very seasonable blessing and supply, they being now in a low condition for want of food. M.

The supply seems not to have been so abundant as might be inferred from the account given in the text. Gov. Bradford, speaking of Mr. Winslow's voyage, as quoted by Mr. Prince, says, "he gets as much bread as amounts to a quarter of a pound a person a day till harvest." This was the daily portion which was distributed. "I found the state of the colony," says Mr. Winslow, "much weaker than when I left it; for 'till now we were never without some bread; the want whereof much abated the strength and flesh of some and swelled others,—and indeed had we not been in a place where divers sorts of shell-fish are, that may be taken with the hand, we must have perished, unless God had raised some unknown or extraordinary means for our preservation. In the times of these straits, indeed before my going to Munhiggon, the Indians began again to cast forth many insulting speeches, glorying in our weakness, and giving out how easy it would be ere long to cut us off.

made with a flat roof and battlements; on ~~which~~ ^{fort} their ordinance was mounted, and where they kept constant watch, especially in time of danger: It served them also for a meeting-house, and was fitted accordingly for that use.* It was a great work for them to do in their weakness, and times of want; but the danger of the time required it, there being continual rumours of the Indians, and fears of their rising against them, especially the Narragansets; and also the hearing of that great and sad massacre in Virginia above-named.†

Now also Massasowat, (Massasoit) seemed to frown on us, and neither came or sent to us as formerly. These things occasioned further thoughts of fortification." *Winslow's Rel. Mass. Hist. Coll. 8. 246.*

* "Whereas we have a hill called the Mount, enclosed within our pale, under which our town is seated, we resolve to erect a fort thereon." *Winslow's Rel.*

Some traces of the fort are still visible on the eminence, called the Burying-hill, directly above the meeting-house of the first church in Plymouth. After the fort was used as a place of worship, it is probable they began to bury their dead around it: before that time the burial place was on the bank, above the rock on which the landing was made. Dr. Holmes mentions a tradition, that the graves at that spot, after the great mortality in the first stage of the settlement, were levelled and sown, to conceal the extent of their loss from the natives. An aged gentleman, Mon. Ephraim Spooner, since deceased, who gave this information to Dr. Holmes, received it from Elder Faunce, who died 1745, in the 99th year of his age, and who was well acquainted with some of the first settlers. The Editor has often had similar information from an aged lady, Mrs. White, who died at Plymouth a few years since, and who in early life was familiar in the family of Elder Faunce. It was from Elder Faunce's communications that the memory of the *Rock* was preserved.

† Here Mr. Morton inserted an account of a severe drought, of a fast and thanksgiving all occurring in the next year. The paragraph is transferred to its proper place in 1623. Mr. Prince suggests that from inadvertence the dates of those occurrences as in Gov. Bradford's M. S. are not observed by Mr. Morton, and that Mr. Hubbard follows the mistake. A recurrence to Winslow's Relation and to Smith's Abstract of divers relations, &c. establishes the date assigned by Mr. Prince; and from his careful examination of Gov. Bradford's M. S. there can be no doubt of its concurrence with those authorities. The transposition of the paragraph, however, would not have been made by the editor, if this were an original work by Mr. Morton; but being, in this portion of the history, a mere copy or abridgment of Bradford's History, it was thought allowable to restore what appeared to be the true arrangement, and to give the narrative of the incidents, expressed in that paragraph, their genuine location.

Now the welcome harvest approached, in the which all had some refreshment, but it arose but to a little in comparison of a whole year's supply; partly by reason they were not yet well acquainted with the manner of the husbandry of the Indian corn (having no other) and also their many other employments;* but chiefly their weakness for want of food, so as to appearance famine was like to ensue, if not some way prevented: markets there was none to go unto, but only the Indians; but they had no trading stuff. But behold now another providence of God; a ship came into the harbour, one Capt. Jones being chief in her, set out by some merchants to discover all the harbours between Cape Cod and Virginia, and to trade along the coast.† This ship had store of English beads, (which were then good trade) and some knives, but would sell none but at dear rates, and also a good quantity together; yet they were glad of the occasion, and fain to buy at any rate; they were fain to give after the rate of cent. per cent. if not more, and yet pay away coat beaver at three shillings per pound. By this means they were fitted again to trade for beaver and other things, and so procured what corn they could.

But here let me take liberty to make a little digression. There was in the ship sent by Mr. Weston fore-

* "Partly by much being stolen," probably by some of Mr. Weston's men. "They exceedingly waste and steal our corn, and yet secretly revile us." Under date of July 16, it is recorded, "Our number is about 100 persons, all in health, i. e. free from sickness, though not from weakness. Near sixty acres of ground well planted with corn, besides gardens replenished with useful fruits."

Winslow's Rel. Smith and Purchas, abridged by Prince, 121.

† This arrival was in August; the name of the ship was the *Discovery*. About the same time arrived one of Mr. Weston's ships, the *Sparrow*, bound to Virginia.

Winslow's Rel. Prince 121.

named (in which his men came) a gentlemen named Mr. John Porey, he had been secretary in Virginia, and was now going home passenger in this ship.* After his departure he wrote a letter to the governour of Plimouth, in the postscript whereof he hath these expressions following:

"To yourself and Mr. Brewster I must humbly acknowledge myself many ways indebted, whose books I would have you think very well bestowed. who esteems them such jewels. My haste would not suffer me to remember, much less to beg Mr. Ainsworth's elaborate work on the five books of Moses; both his and Mr. Robinson's do highly commend the authors, as being most conversant in the scriptures of all others; and what good who knows it may please God to work by them through my hands, though most unworthy, who find such content in them. God have you all in his keeping. Your unfeigned and firm friend,

JOHN POREY."

August 29, 1622.

These things I here insert, partly for the honour's sake of the authors memory, which this gentleman

* The ship here intended, is the *Charity*, which brought Weston's people to Plymouth; thence proceeded to Virginia, and had now returned, bound to Weston's settlement, (Wessagussett.) She sailed for England, late in September or early in October. Whether Mr. Porey was going home in the *Charity*, or in the *Discovery*, is not certain. Mr. Prince takes some pains to reconcile the several hints about Weston's ships, from Winslow, Bradford, Morton, and Hubbard, and concludes that Mr. Porey came from Virginia in the *Discovery*, and was to proceed to England in the same ship. The body of Mr. Weston's company were conveyed to Wessagussett, (Weymouth,) in the *Charity*, after her return from Virginia; the sick and lame were left at Plymouth, until accommodations could be provided at Weymouth, "whom our surgeon, says Mr. Winslow, recovered gratis for them, and they fetched home, as occasion served."

Chron. 121, 122. *Winslow's Rel.*

doth so ingenuously acknowledge, and also the credit and good that he procured unto the plantation of Plimouth after his return, and that amongst those of no mean rank. But to return.

Mr. Weston's people fore-named, who were now seated in the bay of the Massachusetts, at a place called by the Indians Wesagusquaset,* and by disorder (as it seemed) had made havock of their provision; they began now to conceive that want would come upon them; and hearing that their neighbours at Plimouth had bought trading stuff, as aforesaid, and intended to trade for corn, they wrote to the Governour, and desired that they might join with them, and they would employ their small ship† in this service; and also requested to lend or sell them so much of their trading stuff as their part might come to; which was agreed unto on equal terms; so they went out in the expedition, with an intention to go about Cape Cod to the southward, but meeting with cross winds, and other crosses, went in at Mannomoik,‡ where the aforesaid Squanto, being their guide and interpretér, fell sick, and within a few days died. A little before his death, he desired the Governour of Plimouth (who then was there) to pray for him, that he might go to the Englishman's God in heaven; and bequeathed divers of his things to sundry of his English friends, as remembrances of his love; of whom they had a great loss.§

* Now by the English called Weymouth. M.

† The *Swan*, which Mr. Winslow says was left with Weston's colony "for their furth^r help."

‡ Chatham.

§ This voyage was in November. It was performed with the *Swan*, and a Plymouth Shallop. Governour Bradford had the command. The expedition was more important, as being their first adventure round Cape Cod. "Tisquantum, says

Here they got a considerable quantity of corn, and so returned. After these things, John Saunders, who was left chief over Mr. Weston's men at Wesagusquaset, in the month of February,* sent a messenger, shewing the great wants they were fallen into, and would have borrowed corn of the Indians, but they would lend him none; and desired advice whether he might take it from them by force to succour his men, until return from the eastward whither he was now going. But the Governour and the rest dissuaded him by all means from it, for it might so exasperate the Indians, as might endanger their safety, and all of them might smart for it; for they had already heard how they had wronged the Indians, by stealing their corn, &c. so as the natives were much incensed against them; yea, so base were some of their own company, as they went and told the Indians, that their Governour was pur-

Mr. Winslow, whose peace before this time was wrought with Massasowat, (Massasoit,) undertook to discover unto us that supposed and still hoped passage within the shoals." It was attempted earlier in the season, (October) in a similar connexion with Weston's people. Standish was Captain, and Squanto was their pilot. They were twice driven back by storms or head winds, and on the second attempt Standish falling sick, the Governour took his place. Squanto affirmed that he had twice passed the shoals of Cape Cod, both with English and French. The difficulties occurring, however, on this occasion baffled his skill, but he was able to pilot the vessels into Monamoyk. This was his last service. Governour Bradford's pen was worthily employed in the tender notice taken of the death of this child of nature. With some aberrations, his conduct was generally irreproachable, and his useful services to the infant settlement, entitle him to grateful remembrance. Having obtained about eight hogsheads of corn and beans at Monamoyk, they proceeded thence to Massachusetts: they found a mortal sickness prevailing there, and no corn to be procured. They then sailed for Nauset, and at that place and at Mattachiest a further supply was obtained, in all 26 or 28 hogsheals of corn and beans. At Nauset the shallop was stranded in a storm: part of the corn was stacked, covered with rafts, and left in charge of the Indians. The Governour procuring a guide, travelled homewards on foot, "receiving all respect from the natives by the way, and weary with galled feet comes home." The corn brought in the ship was divided with Weston's people.

* February 6th.

posed to come and take their corn by force, which with other things made them enter into a conspiracy against the English. And herewith I end the relation of the most remarkable passages of God's providence towards the first planters, which fell out in this year.*

1623.

Mr. Weston's people fore-named, notwithstanding all helps they could procure for supply of provisions, fell into great extremity, which was occasioned by their excessive extravagance while they had it, or could get it; and after they came into want, many sold away their cloaths and bed-coverings; others were so base as they become servants to the Indians, and would cut them wood, and fetch them water for a cap full of

* To March 25th 1622-3. Several voyages and journeys made within this period are not noticed in the Memorial. In Jan. Capt. Standish having recovered, sailed to Nauset with the other shallop in company with the ship, and finds the corn, left there in November, all safe. He repaired the shallop that had been stranded, but, in a storm was obliged to cut both Shallops loose from the ship. They were recovered, however, not having received much injury. The corn was brought home and divided with his associates. After this, the Governour with a suitable company, went to Namasket for corn, and to Manomet, at the head of Buzzard's Bay. In the latter journey Hobamak accompanied him. He was received kindly by Canacum, the Sachem of Manomet. The weather was severely cold, and the corn that was purchased was left in the Sachem's custody. In February their extremity was such, that Capt. Standish was despatched to Mattachiest in the shallop, with six men, for a further supply of corn. The cold was intense, and the boat was frozen up in the harbour on the first night of his arrival. But he made a successful voyage, notwithstanding the difficulties of the season, and some annoyances from the natives, among whom he perceived symptoms of a conspiracy against the English. In March, Capt. Standish went to Manomet, to bring home the corn which the Governour had left at that place. He left his shallop at Scussit, on the Bay side of the isthmus, with some of his company, and proceeded to Canacum's house. While there he was insulted by Wittuwamet, an Indian from Massachusetts, who had come to engage Canacum in a conspiracy against the English, and by the exercise of great vigilance, through a long and very cold night, he escaped assassination from "a lusty Indian of Pamet," who had before been friendly. Standish surmounting these impediments, accomplished the object of his voyage and returned in safety. See Appendix. G.

corn; others fell to stealing both night and day from the Indians, of which they grievously complained. In the end they came to that misery that some starved and died with hunger; and one in gathering of shell-fish was so weak, as he stuck fast in the mud, and was found dead in the place; and most of them left their dwellings, and were scattered up and down in the woods by the water side, where they could find ground-nuts and clams, here six and there ten, by which their carriages they became contemned and scorned of the Indians, insomuch as they began greatly to insult over them in a most insolent manner, so as if they had set on such victuals as they gotten to dress it, when it was ready, the Indians would come and eat it up; and when night came, when as possibly some of them had a sorry blanket, or such like, to lap themselves in, the Indians would take it, and let the other lie all night in the cold, so as their condition was very lamentable; and in the end they were fain to hang one of their company, whom they could not reclaim from stealing, to give the Indians content.*

* A waggish report became current, that the real offender was spared, and that a poor decrepid old man, that was unserviceable to the company, was hung in his stead. Upon this story, says Mr. Hubbard in his *M. S. History of New-England*, "the merry gentleman, that wrote the poem called *Hudibras*, did in his poetical fancy make so much sport."

The passage referred to is well known.

"Our brethren of New-England use,
Choice malefactors to excuse,
And hang the guiltless in their stead,
Of whom the Churches have less need, &c."

Hudibras, part 2. Canto 2.

Mr. Hubbard seriously contradicts the story, but with a qualification, that would not perhaps have deprived the poet of an infusion, so convenient for his purpose and so congenial to his feelings. As Mr. Hubbard had the account from the

Whilst things went on in this manner with them, the Governour and people of Plimouth had notice that the Sachem Massasoit, their friend, was sick, and near unto death, and they sent to visit him, and sent him some comfortable things, which gave him content, and was a means of his recovery: upon which occasion he discovered the conspiracy of these Indians, how they were resolved to cut off Mr. Weston's company, for the continual injuries they had done them, and

Plymouth people "the person hanged was really guilty of stealing, as were many of the rest; yet it is possible, that justice might be executed, not on him that most deserved it, but on him that could best be spared, or who was not likely to live long, if he had been let alone."

Dr. Belknap offers the following remark on the sarcasm; "I do not find that the people of Weston's plantation had any church at all; they were a set of needy adventurers, intent only on gaining a subsistence;" and introduces a quotation from Mr. Neal, that "Weston obtained a patent under pretence of propagating the discipline of the Church of England in America.

American Biog. II. 320.

* They received information of Massasoit's sickness, whilst Capt. Standish was at Manomet; they also had intelligence, that a Dutch ship was wrecked near the Sachem's house. Mr. Winslow was employed on the visit to Massasoit, and was accompanied by Mr. John Hamden, a gentleman of London, who had wintered with them, "and desired much to see the country." Dr. Belknap, supposes this to be the Hamden, afterward so distinguished in English History, at that time about 29 years of age. Hobamak was their guide. This was an interesting journey, and all the incidents are well related, in the minute narrative left us by Mr. Winslow. Massasoit, gratefully impressed with the kind offices performed by Winslow, revealed to Hobamak the plot of the Massachusetts Indians. Hobamak as enjoined by Massasoit, communicated it to Winslow the next day, on their journey homeward. The conspiracy, as related to Winslow, was to an alarming extent, embracing tribes in every direction. The Massachusetts Indians were the principals, and had engaged, it was said, those of Nauset, Pamet, Suceconet, Mattachiest, Manomet, Agawaywam, and the isle of Capawack to co-operate with them. The situations of these places, excepting Suceconet and Agawaywam, have been mentioned in former notes. Dr. Freeman thinks Suceconet, the same as Succanuset, now called Falmouth. Mr. Prince is doubtful whether that place or Suceconet, (Little Compton) were intended. Agawaywam, or Agawam, is now Wareham. On the day of Winslow's return, Standish had sailed for Massachusetts, but contrary winds had driven him back. The Pamet Indian, mentioned in a former note, being very solicitous that the Captain should go with him to Pamet. See *Appendix H.*

would now take opportunity of their weakness, and do it; and for that end had conspired with other Indians their neighbours thereabout: And thinking the people here would revenge their death, they therefore thought to do the like by them, therefore [*advised*] to prevent it, and that speedily, by taking some of the chief of them before it was too late, for he assured them of the truth thereof.

This did much trouble them, and they took it into serious consideration, and found upon examination, and other evidences to give light thereunto, that the matter was really so, as the said Sachem had told them.* In the mean time came an† Englishman from the Massachusetts, from the said company in misery, as hath been above related, with a pack at his back; and although he knew not a foot of the way, yet he got safe hither, but lost his way, which was well for him, for he was pursued by two Indians,‡ who by God's providence, missed of him by that means; and he related how all things stood with them there, and that he durst stay no longer, for he apprehended by what

* "Wassapinnewat brother to Obtakiest, the Sachem of Massachusetts, who had formerly smarted for partaking with Corbitant, and fearing the like again, to purge himself, revealed the same thing." *Winslow's Rel.*

March 23. Being a yearly-court-day, the Governour communicated the intelligence, to the whole company, and asked their advice. The Governour and his Assistant were authorized to act as the exigency should require. Arrangements were made for Standish, to proceed with a sufficient force to Massachusetts. "Our fort," says Winslow, "was now made fit for service, and some ordinance mounted."

† This man's name was Phinehas Pratt, who has penned the particular of his perilous journey, and some other things relating to this tragedy. M. This man was living in 1677, when Mr. Hubbard wrote his History.

Belk. Biog. II, 315.

‡ Winslow says one Indian who missing his way went to Manomet. On his return afterwards, through Plymouth, he was arrested and confined in irons in the fort. This was the first instance of any use of their fort, excepting for publick worship. The prisoner was released after Standish's return from Wessagussett.

Winslow's Rel.

he observed they would be all slain ere long. This made them make the more haste, and they dispatched a boat away with some men under the conduct of Capt. Standish, who found them in a miserable condition; out of which he rescued them, and helped them to some relief, cut off some of the chief conspirators against them, and according to his order offered to bring them all to Plymouth, to be there until Mr. Weston came, or some other way should be presented for their help.* They thanked him and the rest, but they rather desired that he would help them with

* The expedition to Wessagussett, the most "capital exploit" of Standish, to use the language of Dr. Belknap, is too briefly related. Standish had eight men with him. On his arrival at Wessagussett, he found he could not avoid a conflict. Six Indians were slain: four by Standish and his party, and two by Weston's men, under the direction of Standish. Among the four, were the bold and bloody Wittuwamat and Peksuot "a notable Pinese." A brother of Wittuwamat, a youth about eighteen years of age, was hanged. The other Indians were compelled to fly. To the women, as became the brave, there was no injury or incivility. The head of Wittuwamat was brought to Plymouth, and set up on the fort. The Indians generally, who had been prepared to join with the "Massacheuseuks," were terrified by these acts of severe execution. They forsook their dwellings, wandered about bewildered, living in swamps and deserts, and contracted diseases of which many died. Canacum, Sachem of Manomet, Aspinet, of Nauset, and the interesting Inanough were among the victims to these complicated miseries. When Mr. Robinson received the news of these transactions, he wrote to the church at Plymouth, "to consider the disposition of their Captain, who was of a warm temper." He hoped the Lord had sent him among them for good if they used him right; but he doubted whether there was not wanting, that tenderness of the life of man, made after God's image, which was meet; he thought "it would have been happy if they had converted some before they had killed any." These sentiments are honourable to Mr. Robinson. They indicate a generous philanthropy, which must always gain our affection, and should ever be cherished. Still the transactions so which the strictures relate, are defensible. As to Standish, Dr. Belknap places his defence on the rules of duty imposed by his character, as the military servant of the Colony. The Government, it is presumed, will be considered as acting under severe necessity, and will require no apology if the reality of the conspiracy be admitted, of which there can be little doubt. It is certain, that they were fully persuaded of its existence; and with the terrible example of the Virginia Massacre in fresh remembrance, they had solemn duties to discharge. The existence of the whole settlement was at hazard.

See Appendix L

some corn, and they would go with their small ship to the eastward, to look out a way for themselves, either to have relief by meeting with Mr. Weston, or if not, to work with the fishermen for their supply, and their passage for England; so they shipped what they had of any worth, and he helped them with as much corn as he could, and saw them out of the bay under sail, and so came home, not taking the worth of a penny of any of them.

This was the end of these that sometimes boasted of their strength, being all able lusty men, and what they would do and bring to pass, in comparison of the people at Plimouth, who had many women and children, and weak ones; and said at their first arrival, when they saw the wants at Plimouth, that they would take another course and not fall into such a condition as this simple people were come to: but a man's way is not in his own power; God can make the weak stand. Let him that thinketh he standeth (in such respect as well as other) take heed lest he fall.*

Shortly after, Mr. Weston came over with some of the fishermen, where he heard of the ruin of his plantation, and got a boat, and with a man or two came to see how things were; but by the way (for want of skill) in a storm, he cast away his boat in the bottom of the bay, between Merrimack and Piscataqua, and hardly escaped with life; and afterwards fell into the hands of Indians, who pillaged him of all that he had saved from the sea, and stripped him of all his clothes

* Here see the effects of pride and vain glory. M.

to his shirt. At last he got to Piscataqua, and borrowed a suit of clothes, and got means and came to Plymouth. A strange alteration there was in him, to such as had seen and known him in his former flourishing condition; so uncertain are all things of this uncertain world.*

But to return to the state and condition of the planters of Plymouth, all this while no supply heard of, so they began to think how they might raise as much corn as they could: so as they might not languish in misery as formerly they had done, and at the present they did, and it was thought the best way, and accordingly given way unto, that every one should plant corn for his own particular, and in that regard provide for themselves, and, in other respects, continue the general course and way as before: and so they ranged all their youth under some family, and set upon such a course, which had good success, for it made all hands very industrious, so as much corn was planted.†

This course being settled, by that time all their corn was planted, all their victuals was spent, and they

* Mr. Weston's enterprise was singularly unfortunate. Considering the character of his men, strict oversight was necessary. They never had his personal inspection. Mr. Green, his brother-in-law, who had the first charge of the establishment, died suddenly at Plymouth, about the time of the first joint voyage to Cape-Cod; and at the time of their greatest extremity, in February and March, 1623—24. Saunders, the overseer after Mr. Green's death, had gone to Moulhigen, for a supply of provisions.

† The community of Interest, which they had hitherto maintained, did not arise, as has been sometimes supposed, from any peculiar fantastic notions, but was required by the nature of their engagements with the merchant adventurers in England. By the articles of agreement it was covenanted that the personal services of the planters, and of their wives and children, estimated at a stipulated rate, should make common stock with property advanced, either by them or their adventurers. [See Appendix J]

were only to rest on God's providence; many times at night not knowing where to have any thing to sustain nature the next day, and so, (as one well observed) had need to pray that God would give them their daily bread, above all people in the world; yet they bear those wants with great patience and alacrity of spirit, and that for so long a time as the most part of two years. Which brings to mind what Peter Martyr writes in his magnifying of the Spaniards: (in his first Decade, p. 208.) "They (said he) led a miserable life for five days together, with parched grain of maize only, and that not to satiety;" and then concludes, that "such pains, such labours," he thought "none living, who is not a Spaniard, could have endured."

But alas! those men when they had maize (that is Indian corn) they thought it as good as a feast, and wanted, not only for five days together, but sometimes for two or three months together, and neither had bread or any kind of corn.

Indeed, in another place in his second Decade, p. 94, he mentions how others of them were worse put to it, where they were fain to eat dogs, toads, and dead men, and so almost all of them died. From these extremities the Lord in his goodness preserved both their lives and healths; let his holy name have the praise. Yet let me here make use of his conclusion, which in some sort may be applied to this people, that "with their miseries they opened a way to those new lands; and after storms, with what ease, other men came to inhabit in them, in respect to the calamities these men suffered; so as they seemed to go to a bride feast, where all things are provided for them."

They having one boat left, and she none of the best, with a net which they brought, improved them for the taking of bass, which proved a good help to them, and when those failed they were fain all hands to go dig shell fish out of the sands for their living; in the winter season ground-nuts and fowl were the principal of their refreshing,* until God sent more settled and suitable supplies, by his blessing upon their industry.†

At length they received some letters from the adventurers,‡ which gave them intelligence of a ship set out to come hither unto Plimouth, named the Paragon: This ship was bought by Mr. John Pierce, and set out on his own charge, upon hopes of great matters; the passengers and goods, the company sent in her, he took in for freight, for which they agreed with him to be delivered here; this was he in whose name their first patent was taken, for this place where Plimouth is, by reason of acquaintance, and some alliance that some of their friends had with him, but his name was only used in trust, but when he saw they were here hopefully seated, and by the success God gave them, had obtained favor of the council of New England, he goes and sues to the said council, for another

* Some were sent to range the woods for deer; "they now and then get one, which we divide among the company." They must have been inexpert in the chase; for from the number of deer in the woods, in that vicinity, in modern times, there may be supposed to have been plenty of them at that period, unless the stock had been much diminished by the Indians.

† Mr. Prince places the following remark from Gov. Bradford's M. S. about the middle of April. "We begin to set our corn, the setting season being good, till the latter end of May. But by the time our corn is planted, our victuals are spent; not knowing at night where to have a bit in the morning, and have neither bread nor corn for three or four months together; yet bear our wants with cheerfulness and rest on Providence."

‡ The letters referred to were written, one Dec. 22, the other April 9. They were probably received in May or June, and came by some of the fishing vessels, sent, as usual, to the eastward.

patent of much larger extent, in their names, which was easily obtained, but he meant to keep it to himself, and to allow them what they pleased to hold of him as tenants, and sue to his courts as chief Lord. But the Lord marvellously crossed him in his proceedings; for when his ship above-named set out from the Thames, she sprang a leak by that time she got to the Downs, and also by reason of a chop that accidentally befell one of her cables, it broke in a stress of wind while she there rode, and was in danger to have been driven on the sands, and thereupon was constrained to return back to London, and there arrived in 14 days after, and was haled up into the dock, and an hundred pound more bestowed on her to mend her leaks and bruises, which she received in the aforesaid storm; and when she was again fitted for the voyage, he pestered his ship, and takes in more passengers, and those some of them not very good, to help to bear his losses, and sets out the second time; and when he was half way, or thereabouts, to New England, was forced back again by an extreme tempest, wherein the goodness and mercy of God appeared in their preservation, being one hundred and nine* souls. This ship suffered the greatest extremity at sea, at her second setting forth, as is seldom the like heard of.† It was about the middle of February that the storm began, and it continued for the most part of fourteen days, but for two or three days and nights together, in most violent extremity. At the beginning of the storm, their boat being above-decks, was thrown over-

* The second and third editions of the Memorial have it "one hundred and ninety"—We follow the first edition.

† The ship sailed the second time, December 22

board; they spent their mainmast, their round-house was beaten off with the storm, and all the upperworks of their ship; he that stood to give direction for the guiding of her before the sea, was made fast, to prevent his washing overboard, and the seas did so overtake them, as that many times those upon the deck knew not whether they were within board or without; and by her extreme leaking, being a very rotten ship, and the storm increasing, she was once very near foundering in the sea, so as they thought she would never rise again: notwithstanding the Lord was pleased of his great mercy to preserve them; and after great weather-beating and extraordinary danger, they arrived safe at Portsmouth in Hampshire, to the wonderment of all that beheld in what condition they were, and heard what they had endured.*

Upon the return of the said Mr. John Pierce for England; (he being personally in this his ship in the so sad storm) the other merchant adventurers got him to assign over the grand patent to the company, which he had taken in his own name, and made quite void their former patent.†

About the latter end of June, came in a ship at Plimouth with Capt. Francis West, who had a commission to be Admiral of New-England, to restrain interlopers, and such fishing ships as came to fish and trade without license from the council of New-Eng-

* This relation was made by Mr. William Pierce, the master of the said ship, and some passengers of good credit. M.

† Five hundred pounds was the sum given for the assignment, and the goods with the charge of passengers cost the adventurers \$40l. They then hired the *Ann* of 140 tons to bring passengers, with 60 tons of goods.

land, for which they should pay a great sum of money; but he could do no good of them, for they were too strong for him, and he found the fishermen to be refractory, and their owners, upon complaint made to the Parliament, procured an order that fishing should be free. He told the Governour of Plimouth that they spoke with a ship at sea, and were on board her, that was coming to the said plantation of Plimouth, in which were sundry passengers, and they marvelled she was not arrived, fearing some miscarriage: for they lost her in a storm that fell shortly after they had been on board; which relation filled them full of fears, yet mixed with hope. The master of the ship had two hogsheds of pease to sell, but seeing their wants, held them at nine pounds sterling and hog-head, and under eight he would not take, and yet would have heaver at an under rate; but they told him they had lived so long without, and would do still, rather than give so unreasonably; so the said ship went from Plimouth to Virginia.

*It may not here be omitted, that notwithstanding all their great pains and industry, and the great hopes

* This is considered as the proper place for the account of a severe drought, and of the day of humiliation, and the subsequent day of thanksgiving, placed erroneously by Mr. Morton, among the occurrences of the preceding year. See note p. 82. Mr. Winslow, speaking of their anxiety about the ship reported by Capt. West as bound to the plantation, observes, "now is the month, (i. e. three months from the time of her sailing,) heard no further of her, only the signs of a wreck on the coast, which could not be judged to be any other than the same." Soon after the fast, Capt. Standish returned from a voyage to one of Sir F. Gorges plantations, then recently commenced on Piscataqua river. He brought a supply of provisions, and with him came, on a visit, Mr. David Thompson, Sir F. Gorges agent at Piscataqua. This is the same Mr. Thompson who took possession of the Island in Boston harbour, bearing his name, six years before Boston was settled, and of Squantum neck, both of which were afterwards confirmed to him by the General Court of Massachusetts.

they had of a large crop, the Lord seemed to threaten them with more and sorer famine by a great drought, which continued from the third week in May, until the middle of July, without any rain, and with great heat of weather for the most part, insomuch that their corn began to wither away, although it was planted with fish according to their usual manner in those times; yet at length it began to languish sore, and some of the drier grounds was parched like withered hay, part whereof was never recovered. Upon which they set apart a solemn day of humiliation, to seek the Lord by humble and fervent prayer in this great distress;* and he was pleased to give them a gracious and speedy answer, both to their own and the Indians admiration, that lived amongst them; for all the morning, and the greatest part of the day, it was clear weather, and very hot, and not a cloud nor any sign of rain to be seen, yet towards evening it began to be overcast, and shortly after to rain, with such sweet and gentle showers, as gave them cause of rejoicing and blessing God. It came without either wind or thunder, or any violence, and by degrees in that abundance, as that the earth was thoroughly wet and soaked therewith, which did so apparently revive and quicken the decayed corn and other fruits, as was wonderful, and made the Indians astonished to behold † A little before the Lord sent this rain of liberalities upon his people, one of them having occasion to go to the house of the aforementioned Hobamak, the Indian, he the said

* It is mentioned by Smith, that the religious exercises, on this occasion, continued eight or nine hours.

New-England's Trials.

† The showers continued 1½ days

Smith ib.

Hobamak said unto him, "I am much troubled for the English, for I am afraid they will lose all their corn by the drought, and so they will be all starved; as for the Indians they can shift better than the English, for they can get fish to help themselves." But afterwards the same man having occasion to go again to his house, he said to him, "Now I see Englishman's God is a good God, for he hath heard you, and sent you rain, and that without storms and tempests, and thunder, which usually we have with our rain, which breaks down our corn. but yours stands whole and good still; surely your God is a good God:" or with words to the like effect.*

And after this gracious return of prayers in this so seasonable a blessing of the rain, the Lord sent them such seasonable showers, with interchange of warm weather, as (through his blessing) caused in its time a fruitful and liberal harvest, to their great comfort and rejoicing; for which mercy, in time convenient, they also solemnized a day of thanksgiving unto the Lord.

About fourteen days after came in the ship, called the Ann, whereof Mr. William Pierce was master.† Two of the principal passengers that came in this

* The person that made this relation is still surviving, (1669.) and a principal man in the jurisdiction of New-Plimouth. M.*

† Mr. Prince places the arrival of the Ann, in the latter part of July. Smith says the two ships came in the next morning after the Thanksgiving, or not long after. The *fourteen days*, mentioned in the text, are to be considered as having reference to the fast, which was about the middle of July.

* John Alden must have been the person here intended. He was one of the signers of the original compact in 1620, being then about 22 years of age. He died at Duxbury, in 1687, eighteen years after the first publication of the *Memorial*, in the 89th year of his age; having been an assistant in the administration of every Government for 67 years.

Hist. Coll. II. 6. Allen's Biog. and Hist. Diet.

ship were Mr. Timothy Hatherly and Mr. George Morton; the former, viz. Mr. Timothy Hatherly, soon after his arrival met with some cross providences by burning of his house, whereby he was much impoverished, and much discouraged, and returned the winter following for England; and afterwards the Lord was pleased to renew his estate, and he came again into New-England, and proved a very profitable and beneficial instrument both in church and commonwealth, being one of the first beginners, and a good instrument to uphold the church and town of Scituate; and also served God and the jurisdiction of Plymouth in the place of magistracy, and retained his integrity in the profession of the ways of Christ unto old age; still surviving at the penning hereof.*

The latter of the two fore-named, viz. Mr. George Morton, was a pious, gracious servant of God, and very faithful in whatsoever publick employment he was entrusted withal, and an unfeigned well-willer, and according to his sphere and condition a suitable promoter of the common good and growth of the plantation of New-Plimouth; labouring to still the discontents that sometimes would arise amongst some spirits, by occasion of the difficulties of these new beginnings; but it pleased God to put a period to his days soon after his arrival in New-England, not surviving a full year after his coming ashore. With much comfort and peace he fell asleep in the Lord, in the month of June, anno. 1624.

About ten days after the arrival of the ship called the Ann, above-named, there came in another small

* Mr. Hatherly returned to the colony in 1634 or 1635, and settled in Scituate. The time of his death has not been ascertained. He left no descendants.

ship of about forty-four tons, named the *James*, Mr. Bridges being master thereof; which said ship the *Ann* had lost at sea by reason of foul weather; she was a fine new vessel,* built to stay in the country. One of the principal passengers that came in her was Mr. John Jenny, who was a godly, though otherwise a plain man, yet singular for publickness of spirit, setting himself to seek and promote the common good of the plantation of New-Plimouth; who spent not only his part of this ship (being part owner thereof) in the general concernment of the plantation, but also afterwards was always a leading man in promoting the general interest of this colony. He lived many years in New-England, and fell asleep in the Lord, anno. 1644. In the two ships last named, came over many other persons besides those before recited, who proved of good use in their places.†

These passengers seeing the low and poor condition of those that were here before them, were much daunted and dismayed, and, according to their divers humours, were diversely affected. Some wished themselves in England again; others fell on weeping, fancy-

* By these ships they had letters from their firm friend, and agent, Mr. Cushman, and from the adventurers. Mr. Cushman writes, "some few of your old friends are come; they come dropping to you, and by degrees I hope ere long you shall enjoy them all." The letter from the adventurers was very encouraging. "Let it not be grievous to you, that you have been instruments to break the ice for others who come after with less difficulty; the honour shall be yours to the world's end. We bear you always in our breasts; and our hearty affection is toward you all, as are the hearts of hundreds more, which never saw your faces, who doubtless pray your safety as their own."

Winslow's Rel. Prince 139.

† "About sixty persons for the *General*," says Gov. Bradford, his customary expression for the joint concern. "All in health but one, who soon recovers. Some were the wives and children of such who came before, and some others are so bad, we are forced to be at the charge to send them home next year."

Prince 159.

ing their own misery in what they saw in others; other some pitying the distress they saw their friends had been long in, and still were under. In a word, all were full of sadness; only some of their old friends rejoiced to see them, and that it was no worse with them, for they could not expect it should be better, and now hoped they should enjoy better days together. And truly it was no marvel they should be thus affected, for they were in a very low condition, both in respect of food and clothing at that time *

To consider seriously how sadly the Scripture speaks of the famine in Jacob's time, when he said to his sons, go buy us food, that we may live and not die; and that the famine was great and heavy in the land, and yet they had great herds and store of cattle of sundry kinds, which, besides their flesh, must needs produce other useful benefits for food, and yet it was accounted a sore affliction: But the misery of the planters at Plimouth, at the first beginning, must needs be very great therefore, who not only wanted the staff of bread, but all the benefits of cattle, and had no Egypt to go to, but God fed them out of the sea for the most part; so wonderful is his powerful providence over his in all ages; for his mercy endureth for ever.†

* "The best dish we could present them with, is a lobster or piece of fish, without bread, or any thing else, but a cup of fair spring water; and the long continuance of this diet, with our labours abroad, has somewhat abated the freshness of our complexion, but God gives us health." *Bradford's M. S. Prince* 110

† Under the date of Aug. 14, Mr. Prince places the fourth marriage in the Colony, Gov. Bradford to Mrs. Alice Southworth. This is taken from the Governor's Register. This lady probably came in one of the ships, which had just before arrived. The sons Thomas and Constant Southworth, then children, accompanied her. ~~His~~ mother was well educated, and brought considerable property into the country. Mrs. White, the aged lady, mentioned in note p. 82, *A. M.*

About the middle of September arrived Capt. Robert Gorges, in the bay of the Massachusetts, with sundry passengers and families, intended there to begin a plantation, and pitched upon that place, which Mr. Weston fore named had forsaken. He had a commission from the council of New-England to be general Governour of the country; and they appointed, for his council and assistants, Capt. Francis West, the aforesaid Admiral, Christopher Levet, Esq. and the Governour of Plimouth for the time being: Also they gave him authority to choose such others as he should find fit. Also they gave by their commission full power to him and his assistants, or any three of them, (whereof himself was always to be one) to do and execute what to them should seem good, in all cases, capital, criminal, and civil; with divers other instructions; of which, and his commission, it pleased him to suffer the Governour of Plimouth to take a copy*

He meeting with the aforesaid Mr. Weston at Plimouth, called him before him and some other of the

has often related to her friends, Elder Faunce's eulogy, on Mrs. Bradford, for her exertions in promoting the literary improvement, and the good deportment of the rising generation, according to the accounts he had received from some of her co-temporaries. On the 10th of September, the ship *Ann* sailed for London, on company account, laden with clapboards, and all the beaver and other furs, which they had collected at Plymouth. The pinnace, at the same time, fitted for trade and discovery to the southward of Cape Cod, was ready to sail; Mr. Winslow, went passenger in the *Ann*, "to inform how things are," says Gov. Bradford, "and procure what we want." They could not have made a more discreet appointment. His Relation is continued to the day of his sailing. And from this date we leave, with regret, a most intelligent guide and interesting companion.

* He gave notice of his arrival by letter to the Gentlemen of the Government in Plymouth. Before they had opportunity to visit him, he sailed for the eastward, and was compelled by a storm to put into Plymouth, where he was hospitably entertained 14 days.

assistants, with the Governour of Plimouth aforesaid, and charged him with the ill carriage of his men at the Massachusetts, by which means the peace of the country was disturbed, and himself and the people which he had brought over to plant in that bay, thereby much prejudiced. To which the said Weston easily answered, that what was done in that behalf, was done in his absence, and might have befallen any man: He left them sufficiently provided, and conceived they would have been well governed; and for any error committed he had sufficiently smarted.

Another particular was, an abuse done to his father, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and to the state. The thing was this; he used him and others of the council of New-England, to procure him a license for the transporting of many great pieces of ordnance for New-England, pretending great fortification here in the country; for which when he had obtained, he sold them beyond sea for his profit. At which the state was much offended, and his father suffered a shrewd check, and he had order to apprehend him.*

The said Weston excused it as well as he could, but could not wholly deny it: but after much speech about it, by the mediation of the Governour of Plimouth, and some other friends, the said Capt Gorges was inclined to gentleness, (though he apprehended the abuse of his father deeply) which when the said Weston perceived, he grew the more presumptuous, and gave such cutting and provoking speeches, as made the said cap-

* The said Mr. Thomas Weston was a man of parts, and a merchant of good account in London. Sometime after these passages, he went for England, and died in the city of Bristol; he proved but a staff of reed to the plantation of Plimouth. M.

tain rise up in great indignation and distemper, vowing, that he would either curb him, or send him home for England. At which the said Weston was daunted, and came privately to the Governour of Plimouth, to know whether they would suffer him to send him for England? It was answered him, they could not hinder it; and much blamed him, that after they had pacified things, he should thus break out by his own folly and rashness, and bring trouble upon himself and others. He confessed it was his passion, and prayed the Governour aforesaid to intreat for him, and procure a pacification for him if he could; the which at last he did obtain with much difficulty. So he was called again, and the said Capt. Gorges was content to take his own bond to be ready to make further answer, when either he or the lords of the council should send for him; and at last he took only his own word, and so there was a friendly parting on all hands.

Soon after this, the said Capt. Gorges took his leave, and went to the Massachusetts by land, being very thankful for his kind entertainment. His ship stayed at Plimouth, and fitted for to go to Virginia, having some passengers to deliver there; and with her returned sundry of those from Plimouth, which came over on their particular account; some out of discontent and dislike of the country, and others by reason of fire that burnt their houses and all their provisions, so as they were necessitated thereunto.

* This fire was by some of the seamen, that were

* This was on the fifth of November, 1624. M.*

* The date assigned for the fire, in this note, (1624.) does not correspond with the narrative, nor with *Bradford's History*; it is manifestly incorrect, and though believed to be an error of the press, or inadvertently inserted in the author's copy, it is here preserved, from respect to all the editions of the *Memorial*, especially the first.

roystering in an house where it first began, making a great fire, the weather being cold, which broke out of the chimney into the thatch, and burnt three houses* and consumed all their goods and provisions.† The house in which it began, was right against the storehouse at Plymouth, which they had much ado to save; in which was the common store of the provisions of the plantation, which had it been lost, the same had been overthrown; but through God's mercy it was saved by the diligence of people, and care of the governour and those about him. Some would have had the goods thrown out, but if it had, there would have been much lost by the rude company belonging to the two fore-named ships,‡ which were almost all on shore at this time; but a trusty company were placed within, as well as such as were meanwhile employed in quenching the fire without, that if necessity required they might have them all out with speed; for they suspected some malicious dealing, if not plain treachery; and whether it was only suspected or no, God knows; but this is certain, that when the tumult was greatest, there was a voice heard (but from whence it came is uncertain) that bade them look out well about them, for all were not friends that were then about them.§ And soon

* "Smith says there were seven houses burnt, but perhaps, by mistake he may account therewith the two burnt in 1621; and Mr. Hubbard seems to mistake in writing as if the *Common house* were burnt, whereas the fire was only right over against it, and greatly endangered it." *Prince* 142.

† Not the *goods and provisions* of the company, but of the persons occupying the houses consumed.

‡ Mr. Weston's ship, and the ship which put in at Plymouth with Capt. Robert Gorges, and was then fitting for Virginia.

§ A very remarkable preservation. M.

after, when the vehemency of the fire was over, smoke was seen to arise within a shed that was joined to the end of the aforesaid storehouse, which was wattled up with boughs, in the withered leaves whereof the fire being kindled; which some running to quench, found a long fire brand of about an ell long, lying under the wall on the inside, which could not come thither by casualty, but must be laid there by some hand, in the judgment of all that saw it. But God kept them from this danger, whatever might be intended.*

But to return again, to speak something of the aforesaid Captain Gorges, after he had been at the Eastward and expedited some occasions there, he and some that depended upon him returned for England, having scarcely saluted the country in his government, finding the state of things not to answer his quality and condition;† his people dispersed themselves, some for England, others for Virginia, some few remained, and were helped with supplies from Plymouth: Amongst the rest the said Captain brought over a minister with him, one Mr. Morrel;‡ who returned for England about a year after him, he took ship at Plymouth, and had a certain power and authority of

* The pinnacle had accomplished her voyage round Cape-Cod, and returned before the fire.

† "He afterwards dies of the sickness at Bristol, in England, in the time of the civil war." *Prince* 144.

‡ Mr. William Morrell was an episcopal clergyman. He was a gentleman of classical taste, and from his discreet deportment he appears to have given no offence to the planters, who were extremely tender on points of ecclesiastical regimen. During his residence in the country, Mr. Morrell was innocently and laudably employed in composing a Latin poem, descriptive of New-England, its inhabitants and productions. Of this poem he made a free translation into English verse, and published both in a pamphlet, after his return to England.

superintendency over other churches granted him, and instructions for that end; but he never shewed it, or made any use of it, but only spoke of it to some of Plymouth, at his going away. This was in effect the end of the second plantation, in the afore-named place called Wesagusquaset,

There were also some scattering beginnings made in other places, as at Piscataqua, by Mr. David Thompson,* and at Monhegin, and some other places, by sundry others.

1624.

THE time of new election of officers being come for this year at Plymouth, the number of their people be-

They are preserved in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. (Vol. I.) After a short introduction, and an Address in English to King Charles I, the Poem thus commences:

NOVA-ANGLIA.

HACTENUS ignotam populis ego carmine primus,
Te nova, de veteri cui contigit Anglia nomen,
Aggredior trepidus pingui celebrare Minerva.
Fer mihi numen opem, cupienti singula plectro
Pandere veridico, quæ nuper vidimus ipsi;
Ut breviter vereque sonent modulamina nostra,
Temperiem cæli, vim terræ, munera ponti,
Et varios gentis mores, velamina, cultus.

THE AUTHOR'S TRANSLATION.

FEARE not, poor muse, cause first to sing her fame,
That's yet scarce known, unless by map or name;
A grand-child to earth's paradise is borne,
Well lim'd, well nerv'd, faire, rich, sweete, yet forlorne,
Thou blest director so direct my verse,
That it may winne her people, friends, commerae;
Whilst her sweet ayre, rich soile, blest seas, my penne
Shall blaze, and tell the natures of her men.

* Mr. Thompson removed to Massachusetts within a year from the commencement of his settlement at Piscataqua. [See Note p. 98.]

ing increased, and their troubles and occasions therewith; the Governour desired them to change the persons, as well as renew the election, and also to add more assistants to the Governour for help and counsel, and the better carrying on of public affairs, shewing that it was necessary it should so be; for if it were an honour or benefit it was fit that others should be made partakers of it; if it was a burden (as doubtless it was) it was but equal that others should help to bear it, and that this was the end of yearly elections.

The conclusion was, that whereas there was before but one assistant, they now chose five, giving the governour a double voice;* and afterwards they increased them to seven, which course hath continued in that colony until this day.†

In the month of March, in this year, Mr. Edward Winslow arrived at Plimouth, in New-England, having been employed as agent for that plantation, on sundry occasions, with the merchant adventurers in England, who brought a considerable supply with him, the ship being bound on a fishing voyage; and

* Governour Bradford was not indulged in his wish for retirement, but was re-elected.

† "This spring the people requesting the Governour to have some land for continuance, and not by yearly lot as before; he gives every person an acre, to them and theirs, as near the town as can be; and no more till the seven years expire, that we may keep close together for greater defense and safety."

Bradford's M.S. Hist. Prince 147.

[See Appendix K, for a copy of the Allotment.]

Early in March, and before the arrival of Mr. Winslow from England, the pinnace, the *James*, was driven ashore and sunk at Damatin's cove; the Master, and one man were drowned, and all the provisions, salt, &c. on board, designed for a fishing voyage were lost. This vessel they afterwards recovered with the assistance kindly offered and furnished by the fishing masters at the cove.

with him came Mr. John Lyford, a minister, which was sent over by some of the adventurers.

There came over likewise in this ship three heifers and a bull, which were the first neat cattle that came into New-England.*

The aforesaid John Lyford, when he came first on shore, saluted them of the plantation of Plymouth with that reverence and humility, as is seldom to be seen; and indeed made them ashamed, he so bowed and cringed unto them, and would have kissed their hands,

* According to this narrative it would appear, that Mr. Winslow and Mr. Lyford came together, and that the first cattle were brought in the same ship, in which they were passengers. From the Plymouth records relative to the division of the cattle in 1627, it is certain, that they were brought in the Ann; but according to Mr. Prince, Mr. Winslow returned from England at this time in the ship Charity; and we must presume that he found it thus stated, in Gov. Bradford's M. S. history, which he quotes. The Ann in which Mr. Winslow went to England, was a company ship, and was probably employed in conveying the cattle, with the supplies which Mr. Winslow had procured to be furnished, and Mr. Lyford, it is supposed, took passage in that ship. If Mr. Winslow came in another ship, the Charity, it was probably one of the fishing ships which usually came out, early in the season, to Monhiggon. The ship which brought the cattle and goods was, by direction of the adventurers, to be employed in fishing; accordingly, as is mentioned by Gov. Bradford, "The ship is soon discharged and sent to Cape Ann, a fishing, and some of our planters to help build her stages, to their own hindrance; but through the drunkenness of the master, which the adventurers sent, made a poor voyage, and would have been worse, had we not kept one a trading there, who got some skins for the company." Mr. Robinson in a letter to Mr. Brewster, sent by Mr. Winslow, speaking of the disagreement among the adventurers, says, that five or six are resolutely bent for *them* above all others; five or six are their professed adversaries, the rest more indifferent, yet influenced by the *latter*, who above all others are unwilling that He should be transported. The general stock of the adventurers or the amount of their disbursements to that period, was about 7000*l*. The heavy expences and inconsiderable returns excited discontent; much blame was imputed by some of the adventurers to the planters, and many groundless calumnies were occasionally urged against them. It was particularly objected that their narrow scheme of religious polity was unfriendly to a trading establishment. Lyford was considered as having been sent by the influence of that party among the adventurers, who were opposed to Mr. Robinson's union with his people. Mr. Cushman in a letter from London, describes him as "a preacher not the most eminent, for whose going," says he, "Mr. Winslow and I gave way to give content to some at London."

if they would have suffered him; yea, he wept and shed many tears, blessing God that had brought him to see their faces; and admiring the things they had done in their wants, as if he had been made all of love, and the humblest person in the world; but in the end proved more like those mentioned by the Psalmist, Ps. x, 10, that crouched and bowed, that heaps of the poor may fall by them; or like unto dissembling Ishmael, who when he had slain Gedaliah, went out weeping. Jer. xli, 6; and met those that were coming to offer incense in the house of the Lord, saying, come to Gedaliah, when he meant to slay them. They gave him the best entertainment they could, in all simplicity, and as their Governour had used, in all weighty affairs, to consult with their elder, Mr. Brewster, together with his assistants, so now he called Mr. Lyford also on such like occasions. After some short time, he desired to join himself a member to their church, and was accordingly received; he made a large confession of his faith, and an acknowledgment of his former disorderly walking, and his being entangled with many corruptions, which had been a burden to his conscience, and blessed God for this opportunity of freedom and liberty, with many more such like expressions. In some short time he fell into acquaintance with Mr. John Oldham, who was a copartner with him in his after courses; not long after, both Oldham and he grew very perverse, and shewed a spirit of great malignity, drawing as many into a faction as they could; were they never so vile and profane, they did nourish and abet them in all their doings, so they would but cleave to them, and speak against the

church: So as there was nothing but private meetings and whisperings amongst them, they feeding themselves and others with what they should bring to pass in England, by the faction of their friends there;* which brought others as well as themselves into a fool's paradise, yet they could not so carry closely, but both much of their doings and sayings were discovered, although outwardly they set a fair face on things.

At length when the ship† he came in was ready to return for England, and it was observed that Lyford was long in writing, and sent many letters, and could not forbear to communicate to his intimates such things as made them laugh in their sleeves, and thought he had done their errand sufficiently: The Governour and some of his friends, knowing how things stood in reference to some known adversaries in England, and what hurt these things might do, took a boat and went out with the ship a league or two, and called for all Lyford's and Oldham's letters. Mr. William Pierce being master of the ship, and knew well their evil dealings (both in England and here) afforded them all the assistance he could; he found about twenty of Lyford's letters, many of them large and full of slanders and false accusations, tending not only to their prejudice, but ruin and utter subversion; most of them they let pass, only took copies of them, but some of the most material they sent true

* That is, some of the adventurers, who proved in the issue adversaries to the plantation. M.

† The ship *Ann*, if the conjecture in the note p. 111 be correct. It is some confirmation of that conjecture, that Capt. W. Pierce is mentioned in this paragraph as master of the ship, who we find was master of the *Ann* on her former voyage. Mr. Prince places the sailing of this ship in July.

copies of them and kept the originals lest he should deny them, and that they might produce his own hand against him. Amongst these letters they found the copies of two letters which were sent in a letter of his to Mr. John Pemberton, a minister, and a great opposite to the plantation; these two letters of which he took copies, were one of them written by a gentleman in England, to Mr. Brewster here, the other by Mr. Winslow to Mr. Robinson in Holland; at his coming away, as the ship lay at Gravesend, they lying sealed in the great cabin, whilst Mr. Winslow was busy about the affairs of the ship, this sly merchant opens them, takes copies of them, and seals them up again, and not only seals the copies of them thus, *To his friend and their adversary*, but adds thereto in the margin many scurrilous and flouting annotations. In the evening the governour returned, and they were something blank at it; but after some weeks, when they heard nothing, were then as brisk as ever, thinking nothing had been known, but all was gone current, and that the governour went out but to despatch his own letters.

The reason why the governor and the rest concealed these things, was to let things ripen, that they might the better discover their intents, and see who were their adherents; because, amongst the rest, they found a letter of one of their confederates, in which was written, that Mr. Oldham and Mr. Lyford intended a reformation in church and common-wealth, and as soon as the ship was gone they intended to join together and have the sacrament; a few of Oldham's letters were found in the aforesaid search, being so bad a

scribe as his hand was scarce legible, yet he was as deep in the mischief as the other; and thinking they were now strong enough, they began to pick quarrels at every thing. Oldham being called to watch, (according to order) refuseth to come, fell out with the captain, called him rascal and beggarly rascal, and resisted him and drew his knife at him, though he offered him no wrong, nor gave him any ill terms, but with all fairness required him to do his duty; the Governour hearing the tumult, sent to quiet it; but he ranted with great fury, and called them all traitors; but being committed to prison, after a while he came to himself, and with some slight punishment was let go upon his behaviour, for further censure. But to cut things short, at length it grew to this issue, that Lyford with his accomplices, without either speaking one word either to the Governour, church or elder, withdrew themselves, and set up a public meeting apart on the Lord's day, with sundry such insolent carriages, too long here to relate, beginning more publicly to act that which they had been long plotting.

It was now thought high time, to prevent further mischief, to call them to account; so the Governour called a court, and summoned the whole company together, and they charged Lyford and Oldham with such things as they were guilty of respecting the premises; but they were stiff, and stood resolutely upon the denial of most things and required proof; they first alledged what was writ compared with their practices here; that it was evident they joined in plotting against them, and disturbed their peace in their civil and church state, which was most injurious, for both

they and all the world knew they came hither to enjoy the liberty of their consciences, in the free use of God's ordinances, and for that end had ventured their lives, and passed through much hardship hitherto, and they and their friends had borne the charge of these beginnings, which was not small, and that he viz. Lyford, for his part, was sent over on this charge, and both he and his great family was maintained on the same; and for him to plot against them, and seek their ruin, was most unjust and perfidious.

But Lyford denied, and made strange of sundry things laid to his charge. Then his letters were produced, at which he was struck mute. Oldham began to be furious, and to rage, because they had intercepted their letters, provoked the people to mutiny in such words as these; my masters, where are your hearts? Now show your courage; you have often complained to me so and so, now is the time, if you will do any thing, I will stand by you, &c. thinking that every one knowing his humour that had fooled and flattered him, or otherwise, or that in their discontent uttered any thing unto him, would now side with him, in open rebellion; but he was deceived, for not a man opened his mouth, all were silent.

Then the Governour took pains in convicting Lyford of his hypocrisy and treachery, in abusing his friends, in taking copies of their letters in an underhand way, and sending them abroad to their disgrace, &c. and produced them, and his own letters under his own hand, which he could not deny, and caused them to be read before all the people; at which all his confederates were blank, and had not a word to say.

But after a while, he began to say, that sundry had made some complaint unto him, and informed him of divers things, which being there present, and the particulars named to them, they denied.

Then they dealt with him about his dissembling in the church, and that he professed to concur with them in all things, and what a large confession he had made at his admittance, and that he held not himself a minister, till he had a new calling, &c. and yet now he contested against them, and drew a company apart, and sequestered himself, and would go about to administer the sacraments by his former calling, without ever acquainting them with it. In conclusion he was fully convicted, and burst out into tears, and confessed, he feared he was a reprobate, his sins were so great that he doubted that God would not pardon them, he was unsavoury salt, &c. and that he had so wronged them, as he could never make them amends; confessing all he had written against them was false and naught, both for matter and manner; and all this he did with as much fulness as words and tears could express.

After their trial and conviction, the court sentenced them to be expelled the plantation; John Oldham presently to depart, though his wife and family had liberty to stay all winter, or longer, until he could make provision to remove them comfortably.* Lyford had

* Mr. Oldham came to Plymouth, July, 1623, in the ship Ann. In the allotment of lands in the spring of 1624, ten acres were assigned to him "and those joined with him," including probably a number of servants, with his wife and children, one acre to each. [See Appendix K.] Upon his expulsion from Plymouth he repaired to Nantasket, where the Plymouth people had before created a building to accommodate their trade with Massachusetts. Mr. Roger Conant and some others, with their families, retired to the same place, from dislike

liberty to stay six months; it was with some eye to his release, if he carried himself well in the mean time, and that his repentance proved sound. Lyford acknowledged his censure was far less than he deserved, and afterwards he confessed his sin publicly in the church, with tears, more largely than before. I shall here relate it as I find it penned by some who took it from his own mouth as himself uttered it.

Acknowledging that he had done very evil, and slanderously abused them; and thinking most of the people would take part with him, he thought to have carried all by violence and strong hand against them; and that God might justly lay innocent blood to his charge, for he knew not what hurt might have come by these his writings, and blessed God that they were stayed; and that he spared not to take knowledge from any of any evil that was spoken, but shut his eyes and ears against all the good; and that if God should make him a vagabond in the earth, as was Cain, it was but just; and he confessed three things to be the causes of these his doings, pride, vain-glory, and self-love; amplifying these heads with many other expressions in the particulars of them, so as they began to conceive good thoughts of him, upon his repentance, and admitted him to teach amongst them as before; yea, sundry tender-hearted persons amongst them were so taken with his signs of sorrow and repentance, as they

of the rigid principles of the Plymouth settlers. Soon afterward the Dorchester adventurers in England, among whom the Rev. Mr. White was principal, and who were attempting an establishment at Cape Ann, appointed Mr. Conant to manage their planting and fishing at that station. Mr. Lyford was invited to be the Minister, and Mr. Oldham to manage the trade with the natives.

professed they would fall on their knees to have his censure remitted and released. But that which made them all stand amazed in the end (and may do all others who shall come to hear the same, for a rarer precedent can scarce be named) was, that after two months time all his former confessions, convictions, and public acknowledgments, both in the presence of God and his church, and the whole company, with so many tears, and censures of himself, he should go again to justify what he had done; for secretly he wrote a letter to the adventurers in England,* in which he

* This seems to refer to a letter written to be sent by the pinnace, the James, which sailed for England early in the autumn of this year. The person to whom the letter was entrusted delivered it to the Governour. In the pinnace, Mr. Winslow again went to England. Capt. Smith's statistical account of Plymouth at this period is thus condensed, in Prince's Chronology. "At new Plymouth there are now about 180 persons; some cattle and goats, but many swine and poultry. Thirty two dwelling houses—the town is impaled ab ut a mile in compass—on a high mount in the town they have a fort well built with wood, lime, [Smith has it *lime*] and stone, and a fair watch house—the place it seems is healthful, for in the three last years, notwithstanding their great want of most necessaries, hath not one died of the first planters; and this year they have freighted a ship of 180 tons. The general stock already employed by the adventurers to Plymouth, is about seven thousand pounds. At Cape-Ann there is a plantation beginning by the Dorchester men by which they hold of those of New Plymouth; who also by them have set up a fishing work."

In the same ship which brought Mr. Lyford to Plymouth, came a Carpenter and a Salt-maker, both sent by the adventurers. The Carpenter, says Gov. Bradford, "is an honest and very industrious man, quickly builds us two very good and strong shallops, with a great and strong lighter and had hewn timber for two ketches; but this is spoilt; for in the heat of the season of the year, he falls in to a fever and dies to our great loss and sorrow."

The Salt-man he describes as ignorant, foolish and self-willed.—"chuses a spot for his salt-works, will have eight or ten men to help him, is confident the ground is good, makes a carpenter rear a great frame of a house for the salt and other like uses, but finds himself deceived in the bottom; will then have a lighter to carry clay, &c. yet all in vain. He could do nothing but boil the salt in pans. He next year is sent to Cape-Ann, and there the pans are set up by the fishery; but before the summer is out, he burns the house and spoils the pans, and there's an end of this chargeable business."

Prince 118.

justified all his former writings, save in some things which tended to their damage.*

1625.

AT the time of their election court, John Oldham came again amongst them; and though it was a part of his censure, for his former mutiny, not to return without leave first obtained, yet he presumed, without leave at all, to come, being set on and hardened by the ill counsel of others; and not only so, but suffered his unruly passion to run beyond the bounds and limits of all reason and modesty, insomuch that some strangers that were with him were ashamed of his outrages and rebuked him, but all reproofs were but oil to the fire, and made the flame of his choler the greater. He called them all to naught in his fury, an hundred rebels and traitors; but in conclusion, they committed him until he was tamer, and then appointed a guard of musqueteers, which he was to pass through, and every one was ordered to give him a blow on his hinder parts, with the but-end of his musquet, and then he was conveyed to the water-side, where a boat

The Carpenter, the Salt-man, and the Minister, (Mr. Lyford,) were sent by the adventurers, as appears by Mr. Cushman's letter, of which an extract is given in Prince's Chronology, (146.) He does not mention the cattle. For that important acquisition the planters appear to be more particularly indebted to Mr. Winslow.

June 17. "Born at Plymouth to Governour Bradford his son William, who afterwards becomes Deputy Governour of the Colony." *Prince* 147.

"Aug 5. "The ninth marriage at New Plymouth is of Mr. Thomas Prince with Mrs. Patience Brewster." *Prince* 130. "By this only hint" says the Chronologist, "I find he was near in the country." Governour Prince came in 1621, in the Ship Fortune. Patience Brewster with her Sister Fear Brewster, daughters of the Elder, arrived in the Ann, in 1623.

* The copy of this letter is extant, but too large to be here inserted. M.

was ready to carry him away, with this farewell, Go and mend your manners.*

After the removal of his family he fell into some straits, and about a year after intended a voyage to Virginia; and so it pleased God that himself and sundry passengers being in the bark, they were in great danger, so as they despaired of life, and fell to prayer, and to examination of their hearts and consciences, and confessed such sins as most burthened them, and the said John Oldham did make a free and large confession of the wrongs he had done to the church and people at Plimouth, in many particulars; and that as he had sought their ruin, so God had now met with him, and might destroy him; yea, he feared that they all fared the worse for his sake: he prayed God to forgive him, and made vows, that if the Lord spared his life he would become otherwise. This was reported by some of good credit, not long since living in the Massachusetts-Bay, that were themselves partners in the same danger, which was on the shoals of Cape-Cod.

It pleased God to spare their lives, but they lost their voyage; and some time afterwards the said Mr. John Oldham carried himself fairly towards them, and acknowledged the hand of God to be with them, and seemed to have an honourable respect of them; and so far made his peace with them, as he had liberty to go and come at his pleasure, and in some time after went on trading in a small vessel amongst the Indians,

* "While this is doing, Mr. Winslow and Mr. William Pierce land from England and bid them spare neither him (Oldham) nor Lyford, for they had played the villains with us; and their friends in England had the like bickerings with ours there about Lyford's calumnious letters, &c."

Prince 155

and being weekly manned, upon some quarrel betwixt them, they slew him with a hatchet; this death being one ground of the Pequot war, of which afterwards in its proper place.*

The time being expired that Mr. John Lyford's censure was to take place, he was so far from answering their hopes by amendment, as he had doubled his evil, as before mentioned. But first behold the hand of God concerning him, wherein that of the Psalmist is verified, Ps. 7, 15. He hath made a pit, and digged it, and is fallen into the pit that he made. He thought to bring shame and disgrace upon them, but instead of that opens his own to all the world; for his wife, who was a prudent, sober woman, taking notice of his false and deceitful carriage about the premises, in grief of mind expressed her fears, that God would bring upon him and family, some sad judgment for these and other of his wicked practices, and related that he had a bastard, by another woman, before marriage with her, which he denied to her with an oath, but it afterwards appeared to be so; and another miscarriage of the like nature, more odiously circumstanced, was also discovered, for which he was forced to leave Ireland, and so came New-England to be troubled with him.† Being banished hence, he went first to Nantasket, then to Salem, and after to Virginia, where he shortly after died.

* He was a man of parts, but high spirited, and extremely passionate, which marred all in point of right improvement of them. M.

† Mr. Winslow their agent, made such disclosures in England, respecting Lyford, as confounded the party among the adventurers who adhered to him, and he was judged unfit for the ministry. *Prince 153.*

I have been too tedious in my relating the plots of these Machiavilians: but, to conclude, the reader may take notice, that God observed and brought to nought their wicked devices, was a defence to the innocent, and caught them in the snares they privily laid for them, punishing one sin by another, until he had accomplished the freedom of his Israel, by the overthrow of his and their enemies; for which his mercy, let his holy name be praised for evermore.

This storm was blown over, yet sundry sad effects followed, for the company of the merchant adventurers break in pieces hereupon, and the greatest part wholly deserted the colony, but yet God took care of it; for although sundry of them fell off and adventured no more towards the support thereof, but rather proved manifest adversaries thereunto, than otherwise; and the rest, partly because they were grown (some of them) low in their estates, and there being small hopes of returns to their expectations; although courteous in words and well-wishes, yet afforded little or no help after this, so that the plantation was fain to stand on their own legs, being indeed marvellously supported by the Lord, for it pleased him so to bless their endeavours, as that they raised great crops of Indian corn (about this time) so as they had enough, and to spare, and began to have thoughts of improving part of it in a way of trading with the Indians, and having only two shallops* and no bigger vessels, they laid a deck on one of them in the midships, to preserve the corn

* These were the Shallops built by the Carpenter sent to them from England in 1624.

dry from weather, and so sent her laden with corn, to a place called Kennebeck, about fifty leagues off to the eastward;* and notwithstanding they were strangers to the way, and place of trade, and to the people, and having no seamen, and, at that season, being the latter end of the year and drawing on to winter: yet it pleased God to preserve them, and so to bless their endeavours, as that they returned in safety, and with good success, it being the first enterprise they atchieved in this kind, at least so far, and it proved an inlet to a further trade, which was greatly beneficial to them afterwards.

And here I may not omit the observable dispensation of God's providence, respecting his dealing with the adventurers aforementioned, in reference unto two ships they sent unto these parts about that time, on a fishing voyage only upon their own account, having left the plantation to shift for themselves; one of these ships was a small one, viz. the *James*, forenamed, which was well laden with Cor-fish, and in her a great quantity likewise of beaver and other furs,† which was sent by the plantation to the adventurers, and returned for England; the other ship was also laden with good dry-fish, and she also returned with her; being thus well freighted, they went together lovingly and joyfully away, the greater ship towing the lesser at her stern all the way over bound, and had such fair wea-

* "We had laid a deck over her, midship, to keep the corn dry: but the men were forced to stand in all weathers, without any shelter, and the time of year began to grow tempestuous; but God preserves and prospers them, for they bring home 700 weight of beaver, besides furs, having little or nothing but our Corn to purchase them. This voyage was made by Mr. Winslow and some old standard, for we have none." *Bradford's M. S. Hist. Prince 157.*

† Eight hundred weight of beaver, with other furs, a good quantity. M.

ther as they never cast her off till they were shot deep into the English channel, almost within sight of Plymouth, and yet there she was unhappily taken by a Turkish man of war, and carried into Sallice, where the master and men were made slaves, and many of the beaver-skins were sold for four pence a piece. Thus were all their hopes dashed in this respect, and the joyful news they went to carry home turned into heavy tidings. Some thought this an hand of God for some unkindness shewed to the plantation, by exacti-
 tion upon them in reference to a parcel of goods they a little before had sent over to them on extreme rates; but God's judgments are unsearchable, neither ought we to be too bold therewith. But however, it shews us the uncertainty of all human things, and what little cause there is in joying in them, or trusting to them.

In the bigger of these ships Capt. Miles Standish went over as agent in the behalf of the plantation, in refer-
 ence unto some particulars yet depending betwixt them and the adventurers; as also to the honourable council of New-England; and notwithstanding some difficulty he met with in his occasions by reason of the pestilence which was then so hot in the city of London,* yet he accomplished his business so as he left things in a fair way for future composition, betwixt the said merchant-adventurers and the plantation; and he spake also with some of the honourable council, afore-named, who promised all helpfulness to the plantation, that lay in them. About this time it plea-

* "From Dec. 22, 1624, to Dec. 23, 1625, there die of the plague in London and Westminster, forty one thousand, three hundred and thirteen." [*Prince 157.*] On the 27th of March, in this year 1625, died King James I. aged 59, and was succeeded by his only son Charles I.

sed the Lord likewise to give peace, health, and good success on their endeavours, his holy name be praised.*

1626.

ABOUT the beginning of April, they heard of Capt: Standish's arrival, and sent a boat to fetch him home; welcome he was, but the news he brought was sad in many regards, not only in regard to the forementioned losses which their friends had, and some of them dead of the plague, but also that Mr. John Robinson, their pastor was dead, which struck them with much sorrow and sadness, as they had great cause; his and their adversaries had been long and continually plotting how they might hinder his coming into New-England, but now the Lord had appointed him to a greater journey, at less charge, to a better place.

* Before Capt. Standish's departure for England, he was engaged in a transaction of some importance, which is not noticed in the Memorial. Early in the spring of this year, 1625, Lyford and Oldham's friends in England, fitted out a ship under one Howes. The crew took possession of the fishing stage erected by the Plymouth people, at Cape-Ann, "and other provisions made for fishing," and refused to restore them. Standish was sent to retake them. "The dispute grows hot," says Mr. Hubbard, "the Captain seems resolved to attack them and recover his right by force of arms; but the prudence of Mr. Conant, and the interposition of Mr. William Pierce, who lay just by, prevents it; the ships crew promising to build another, ends the controversy."

Mr. Hubbard, in relating this incident, indulges in some severe strictures upon the character of Standish. "A little chimney, says he, is soon fired; so was the Plymouth Captain a man of very small stature; yet of a very hot and angry temper." It does not appear however, that his conduct was reprehensible. He acted under authority, and was sent to enforce a manifest right. "Sedentary persons," says Dr. Belknap, "are not always the best judges of a soldier's merit or feelings. If the arm of flesh were necessary to establish the rights and defend the lives and property of Colonists, in a new country, surrounded with enemies and false friends, certainly such a man as Standish, with all his imperfections, will hold a high rank among the worthies of New-England."

Amer. Biog. II. 329, 330. Prince 154.

In the autumn of this year, Mr. Lyford's people at Nantasket removed to Cape-Ann.

Prince 157

But before I pass things concerning this worthy servant of Christ, Mr. John Robinson, I shall here insert the honourable testimony that Mr. William Bradford, senior, hath left behind him, concerning him, being greatly acquainted with his worth and excellency.

Saith he, such was the mutual love and reciprocal respect that this worthy man had to his flock, and his flock to him, that it might be said of them, as it was once said, of that famous Emperor Marcus Aurelius, and the people of Rome, That it was hard to judge whether he delighted more in having such a people, or they in having such a pastor. But to return.*

Capt. Standish likewise brought the sad news of the death of Mr. Robert Cushman, their ancient friend, whom the Lord took away also, this year, about the same time, who was as their right hand with their friends the adventurers, and for divers years had done and agitated all their business with them, to their great

* Mr. Robinson died at Leyden, Feb. 19, 1625, O. S. in the 50th year of his age. He was buried in the Chancel of the Church in Leyden, assigned for the use of his congregation. Mr. Prince who visited Leyden in 1714, was informed by the most ancient people, as received from their parent, that "as he was had in high esteem both by the city and university, for his learning, piety, moderation and excellent accomplishments; the magistrates, ministers, scholars, and most of the gentry mourned his death as a public loss, and followed him to the grave." Mr. Robinson was a rigid separatist when he left England, but afterward became more moderate, rejected the characteristics of Brownism, while he disclaimed the same, and allowed a qualified communion with the Church of England. "It is always a sign of a good heart, says Dr. Belknap, when a man becomes mild and candid as he grows in years. This was eminently true of Mr. Robinson." His widow and children came over to Plymouth colony. His son Isaac lived to the age of ninety. "A venerable man," says Mr. Prince, "whom I have often seen." He left male posterity in the county of Barnstable.

See *Amer. Biog.* vol. II. *Prince's Chron.* 160. *Neal's Hist. of New-Eng.* I, 190. *Eliot's Biog. Dict.* *Allen's Amer. and Biog. Dict.* and the valuable tracts on the Ecclesiastical History of Massachusetts in the Historical Collection, written by the late Rev. J. Eliot, D. D. for the character, principles and writings of this eminent man.

advantage, of whom, occasionally, there hath been honourable mention formerly made in this book.*

About this time they received divers letters from their friends at Leyden, in Holland, full of sad lamentation for their heavy loss by the death of their pastor, Mr. Robinson, above-named; and although their wills were good to come over to their brethren in New-England, yet they saw no probability of means how it might be effected, but concluded, as it were, that all their hopes were cut off, and many, being aged, began to drop away by death. All which things before related, being well weighed and laid together, it could not but strike them with great perplexity, and to look humanly on the state of things, as they presen-

* In Gov. Bradford's letter book, a fragment of which is preserved, is a letter from four of the adventurers to the "General Society of Plymouth" written 18th Dec. 1623, after the division in that body. It is noted by Gov. Bradford, that this letter was in Mr. Cushman's hand-writing, and that it was probably written by him. It gives much insight into their affairs, especially relative to their connexion with the adventurers, and evidences the good sense and excellent spirit of the writer. He wrote about the same time to Gov. Bradford. In the same letter book, is a copy of Gov. Bradford's reply, dated June 9, 1625, probably sent by Capt. Standish. It is noted at the bottom "Mr. Cushman died before this letter arrived." [*Hist. Coll.* III. 29, 35.] In his letter to Gov. Bradford, Mr. Cushman expresses a hope of coming to them in one of the next ships. His son Thomas, at that time a youth, whom he had brought with him, in the *Fortune*, in 1621, was then in the family of Gov. Bradford. "I must intreat you," says he, in his last letter, "to have a care of my son as your own, and I shall rest bound unto you." The request, we can have no doubt, was sacredly regarded. This son became a useful member of the society in which he was nurtured from childhood. He was chosen ruling elder of the Church in 1649, after the death of Elder Brewster. He married Mary, a daughter of Mr. Allerton, and died in 1691, aged 84. A Tombstone was erected to his memory in 1715, by the church and congregation at Plymouth. He left several children. One of them, *Isaac*, was the first minister of Plimton. His widow lived till 1699. She is the person, mentioned by Hutchinson, (Vol. II. 408) as the only one of the first comers surviving in 1698.

Descendants from this respectable stock are numerous, especially in Plimton, Duxbury, and Middleborough.

ted themselves at this time, it is a marvel it did not wholly discourage and sink them, but they gathered up their spirits, and the Lord so helped them, whose work they had in hand, as now, when they were very low, they began to rise again; and being stripped, in a manner, of all human helps and hopes, he brought things about otherwise in his divine providence, so as they were not only upheld and sustained, but their proceedings both honoured and imitated by others, as by the sequel will appear.*

1627.

THIS year they sent Mr. Isaac Allerton for England, and gave him orders to make a composition with the adventurers, in reference unto some particulars betwixt the plantation and them, which Capt. Standish had begun, as is before hinted, and at the ordinary season of the year, for the expectation of ships, he returned with some success in the business he was employed.†

Likewise this year they began to make some distribution of lands, having had hitherto but to every person one acre allowed him, as to propriety, besides their

* This year, Corn bearing a great price, great exertions were made in planting, in Plymouth colony. The plantation at Monhiggon being broken up, and the commodities appertaining to it being offered for sale, Governour Bradford and Mr. Winslow repaired to that place, in behalf of the Company, and united with Mr. Thompson in the purchase of goods. The moiety of the Plymouth planters amounted to 400*l*. They also purchased a number of goats, and a quantity of French goods, part of the cargo of a ship cast away at Sagadehock, the whole amount being about 500*l*. "which," says Gov. Bradford, "we mostly pay with the beaver and commodities we got last winter, and what we had gathered this summer." *Prince*, 161.

† Mr. Allerton, according to *Prince*, sailed for England in the autumn of 1627, and returned in the spring following.

home-steads, or garden-plots, the reason was that they might keep together, both for more safety and defence. and the better improvement of the general employments; which condition of theirs brings to mind that which may be read in Pliny Lib. 18. Chap. 2. of the Roman's first beginnings in Romulus's time, how every man contented himself with two acres of land, and had no more assigned them; and, chap. 3. It was thought a great reward to receive, at the hands of the people of Rome, a pint of corn; and long after, the greatest present given to a captain, that had got a victory over their enemies, was as much ground as he could till in one day; and he was not accounted a good, but a dangerous man, that would not content himself with seven acres of land; as also how they did pound their corn in mortars, as these people were forced to do many years before they could get a mill.*

Notwithstanding as aforesaid, so small a portion of land served them at the first, yet afterwards for divers reasons moving thereunto, they were necessitated to lay out some larger proportions to each person; yet resolving to keep a mean in distribution of lands, as should not hinder their growth by others coming to them, and therefore accordingly allotted to every one, in each family, twenty acres, to be laid out five acres in breadth, by the water side, and four acres in length.†

* In 1632 the first mill was erected at Plymouth, by Stephen Dean. It was near Fresh lake (Billington Sea) where he had a house. In 1665, another mill was erected nearer the town, by John Jenny.

† There was also a division of the cows and goats. See Appendix L.

I may not omit the inserting of a particular, that fell out this year, in reference unto a ship with many passengers in her, and some considerable goods, which was bound for Virginia, who had lost themselves at sea, either by the insufficiency of the master, or his illness, for he was sick and lame of the scurvy, so as he could but lie in the cabin-door, and give direction, and, it should seem, was badly assisted either with mate or mariners, or else the fear of, and the unruliness of the passengers was such, as they made them steer a course between the southwest and northwest, that they might fall in with some land; whatever it was they cared not, for they had been six weeks at sea, and had no beer nor water, nor wood left, but had burnt up all their empty casks, only one of the company had a hogshead of wine or two, which was also spent, so as they feared they should be starved at sea, or consumed with diseases, which made them run this desperate course. But it pleased God, that although they came so near the shoals of Cape Cod, or else ran stumbling over them in the night, they knew not how, they came before a small harbour, that lieth about the middle of Mannamoiet bay, to the southward of Cape Cod, and with a small gale of wind, and about high water, touched upon a bar of sand that lieth before it, but had no hurt, the sea being smooth; so they laid out an anchor; but towards evening the wind sprang up at sea, and was so rough as they brake their cable, and beat them over the bar into the harbour, where they saved their lives and goods; for, although with much beating they had sprung a but end of a plank, yet they soon got over, and ran upon a dry flat within the har-

bour, close to a beach, and at low water, got out their goods. and were not a little glad that they had saved their lives.* But when they had refreshed themselves, not knowing where they were, nor what to do, were much troubled, but soon after some Indians came towards them in canoes, which made them stand upon their guard, but when they heard some of them speak English, they were not a little revived; especially when they heard them ask, whether they were not the governour of Plimouth's men, or friends, and that they would bring them to the English houses, or carry their letters; and when they had feasted these Indians, and given them many gifts, they sent two men, and a letter with them, to the governour of Plimouth, by which he had intelligence of their condition, and took order for their supply;† they hoping, by mending of their ship, to recover her to go to sea again, and accordingly did mend her; but afterwards having but bad mooring, was put on shore again, and suffered so much shipwreck as she never got off more, but all the company were forced to repair to Plimouth, where they continued the best part of the year, being courte-

* The beach where this ship was stranded, still bears the name of the *Old Ship*; and the remains of the wreck were to be seen about thirty years ago.

Description of Chatham. Hist. Col. VIII, 144.

† It appears from Gov. Bradford's M. S. quoted by Mr. Prince, that the Governour went, himself, in a boat, with proper materials, for the repair of the ship, and with commodities to purchase corn of the natives. He repaired to Namsket (Orleans) within the Cape, and the Indians assisted in carrying the materials across to Monamoyick. He had a good trade with the natives, and returned with a cargo of Corn. This transaction is placed by Mr. Prince in Dec 1626, from Gov. Bradford's remark, that it was in the beginning of winter. It appears, by a passage, inserted by Mr. Prince, immediately preceding this account, that they had lengthened one of their shallops, and put on a deck. This was accomplished by an ingenious housewright, who had wrought with their ship-carpenter, then deceased. "The next year," says Gov. Bradford, "we fit her with sail and anchors, and she does us service seven years." *Prince 163.*

ously entertained, and so were dispersed; the greatest part of them went to Virginia, and some remained in the country. The chief amongst them were Mr. Fells, Mr. Sibsey, and the master's name was Johnston, a Scotchman.

This year the plantation of Plimouth received messengers from the Dutch plantation, sent unto them from the Governour there, written both in Dutch and French. The sum of the letters fore-mentioned were, to congratulate the English here, taking notice of much that might engage them to a friendly correspondence and good neighbourhood, as the propinquity of their native country, their long continued friendship. &c. and desires to fall into a way of some commerce and trade with them.*

To which the Governour and council of Plimouth returned answerable courteous acceptance of their loving propositions, respecting their good neighbourhood in general, and particularly for commerce. And accordingly the Dutch, not long after, sent their secretary, Mr. Isaac de Rosier, with letters and goods, who laid the foundation of a trade that continued between them many years after, to their mutual benefit.† They also brought the English acquainted with the trading of Wampampeag,‡ until then little known to us, nor

* The Dutch had trading in those southern parts divers years before the English came, but they began no plantation until after the English came and were here seated. M.

† See Appendix M.

‡ "Wampompague," says Mr. Gookin, "is made, artificially, of a part of the wick's shell, [wholke.] The black is of double the value of the white. It is made, principally, by the Narragansett black Islanders (Black-Islanders) and Long Island Indians. Upon the sandy flats and shores of those coasts the wick shells are found."

Hist. Coll. I, 152.

In Roger Williams' Key, Wampum is considered as the Indian money, and is

esteemed by us, but was, after, of good valuation and profitable. Although for the space of twenty years, it was of great esteem among the natives in divers parts of the country, so as it made the Indians, in these parts, rich, proud and powerful; yet until they had store of it, they could not attain English ammunition, but were fain to improve their own artillery of bows and arrows; but when as they learned to make store of Wampam, they furnished themselves with guns, powder and shot, which no laws can restrain, by reason of the baseness of sundry unworthy persons, both English, Dutch and French, which may turn to the ruin of many; for hitherto the Indians of these parts had no pieces, nor other arms but their bows and arrows and clubs, nor in many years after; neither durst they scarce handle a gun; though out of kelter, it was a terror to them; but those Indians to the eastern parts, which had commerce with the French, got pieces of them, and they in the end made a common trade of it, and in time our English fishermen, led with the like covetousness, followed their example for their own gain; but upon complaint against them, it pleased the King's majesty to prohibit the same by a strict proclamation, commanding that no sort of arms or ammunition should by any of his subjects be traded with them.*

described in the 24th chapter of that interesting tract. "One fathom of this their stringed money is worth five shillings. Their white money they call Wampam, which signifies *white*, their black, Suckawhock; saki signifying *black*."

Hist. Coll. III, 231.

* In the course of the summer of 1627, "for greater convenience of trade, to discharge our engagements and maintain ourselves, we build a small pinnace at Monamet, a place on the sea, twenty miles to the south; to which, by another creek on this side, we transport our goods, by water, within four or five miles,

1628.

THIS year died Mr. Richard Warren, who hath been mentioned before in this book, and was an useful instrument; and during his life bore a deep share in the difficulties and troubles of the first settlement of the plantation of New Plimouth.*

Whereas about three years before this time there came over one Capt. Wollaston,† a man of considerable parts, and with him three or four more of some eminency, who brought with them a great many servants, with provisions and other requisites for to begin a plantation, and pitched themselves in a place within the Massachusetts Bay, which they called afterwards by their Captain's name, Mount Wollaston; which place is since called by the name of Braintree,

and then carry them over land to the vessel; thereby avoid our compassing Cape Cod with those dangerous shoals, and make our voyage to the southward with far less time and hazard. For the safety of our vessel and goods, we there also build a house, and keep some servants, who plant corn, rear swine, and are always ready to go out with the bark, which takes good effect and turns to advantage." [*Prince*, 167, 168.] In the time of the late war with Great Britain, the editor had opportunity to witness, at Sandwich, a revival of this mode of conveyance, to which the inhabitants of Cape Cod found it convenient to resort, for avoiding the risk of capture by the enemy's cruisers on the coast.

In the autumn of this year, (1627) Mr. Allerton went again to England, as agent for the plantation, and returned the next spring Vid. Appendix N.

* Elizabeth Warren, the widow of Richard Warren, survived her husband about 43 years. She died in 1673, aged 90. Honourable mention is made of her in the Plymouth records. They had seven children, two sons and five daughters; all of whom married in Plymouth, excepting Abigail, the youngest daughter, who married Antony Snow of Marshfield. Richard Warren stands at the head of the ninth share in the division of cattle, in 1627. His location of lands was near Eel-River, and the farm is still possessed by his descendants. The late Hon. James Warren of Plymouth, was a descendant from Richard Warren.

† This gentleman's name is here occasionally used, and although he came over in the year 1625, yet these passages in reference to Morton, fell out about this year, and therefore referred to this place. M.*

* All our authorities, excepting T. Morton, if he may be considered as an authority, place the arrival of Wollaston in 1625. In the *New English Canaan*, it is stated that he came in 1623.

And amongst others that came with him, there was one Mr. Thomas Morton, who should seem had some small adventure of his own or other men's amongst them, but had little respect, and was slighted by the meanest servants they kept. They having continued some time in New-England, and not finding things to answer their expectation, nor profit to arise as they looked for, the said Capt. Wollaston takes a great part of the servants, and transports them to Virginia, and disposed of them there, and writes back to one Mr. Rasdale, one of his chief partners, and accounted their merchant, to bring another part of them to Virginia likewise, intending to put them off there, as he had done the rest; and he with consent of the said Rasdale, appointed one whose name was Filcher to be his lieutenant, and to govern the remainder of the plantation, until he or Rasdale should take further order thereabout.

But the aforesaid Morton, having more craft than honesty, having been a petty fogger at Furnivals-Inn, he, in the others absence, watches an opportunity. commons being but hard among them, and got some strong drink, and other junkets, and made them a feast. and after they were merry, he began to tell them he would give them good counsel; you see, said he, that many of your fellows are carried to Virginia, and if you stay still until Rasdale's return, you will also be carried away and sold for slaves with the rest; therefore I would advise you to thrust out this Lieut. Filcher, and I, having a part in the plantation, will receive you as my partners and consociates, so may you be free from service, and we will converse, plant. trade and

live together as equals, or to the like effect. This council was easily followed, so they took opportunity and thrust lieutenant Filcher out of doors; and would not suffer him to come any more amongst them, but forced him to seek bread to eat and other necessities, amongst his neighbours, till he could get a passage for England.*

After this they fell to great licentiousness of life, in all profaneness, and the said Morton became lord of misrule, and maintained, as it were, a school of Atheism, and after they had got some goods into their hands, and got much by trading with the Indians, they spent it as vainly in quaffing and drinking both wine and strong liquors in great excess, as some have reported, ten pounds worth in a morning, setting up a may-pole, drinking and dancing about it, and frisking about it like so many fairies, or furies rather. yea and worse practices, as if they had anew revived and celebrated the feast of the Romans goddess Flora, or the beastly practices of the mad Bacchanalians. The said Morton likewise, to shew his poetry, composed sundry rhymes and verses, some tending to lasciviousness, and others to the detraction and scandal of some persons names, which he affixed to his idle or idol may-pole; they changed also the name of their place, and instead of calling it Mount Wollaston, they called it the Merry Mount, as if this jollity would have lasted always. But this continued not long, for shortly after that worthy gentleman, Mr. John Endicot, who brought over a patent under the broad seal of England, for the government of the Massachusetts, visiting these parts, caused that may-pole to be cut down, and rebuked

* See the sad effects of the want of good government. M.

them for their profaneness, and admonished them to look to it that they walked better; so the name was again changed, and called Mount Dagon.

Now to maintain this riotous prodigality and profuse expense, the said Morton thinking himself lawless, and hearing what gain the fishermen made of trading of pieces, powder and shot; he, as head of this consortship, began the practice of the same in these parts; and first he taught the Indians how to use them, to charge and discharge them, and what proportion of powder to give the piece, according to the size or bigness of the same, and what shot to use for fowl, and what for deer; and having instructed them, he employed some of them to hunt and fowl for him; so as they became somewhat more active in this employment than any of the English, by reason of their swiftness of foot, and nimbleness of body, being also quick-sighted, and by continual exercise, well knowing the haunt of all sorts of game; so as when they saw the execution that a piece would do, and the benefit that might come by the same, they became very eager after them, and would not stick to give any price they could attain to for them; accounting their bows and arrows but baubles in comparison of them.

And here we may take occasion to bewail the mischief which came by this wicked man, and others like unto him; in that, notwithstanding all laws for the restraint of selling ammunition to the natives, that so far base covetousness prevailed, and doth still prevail, as that the savages become amply furnished with guns, powder, shot, rapiers, pistols, and also well skilled in repairing of defective arms; yea some have not spared

to tell them how gun-powder is made, and all the materials in it, and that they are to be had in their own land, and would no doubt, in case they could attain to making of salt-petre, teach them to make powder; and what mischief may fall out to the English in those parts thereby; let this pestilent fellow Morton, aforementioned, bear a greater part of the blame and guilt of it to future generations. But lest I should hold the reader too long in the relation of the particulars of his vile actings; when as the English that then lived up and down about the Massachusetts, and in other places, perceiving the sad consequences of his trading, so as the Indians became furnished with the English arms and ammunition, and expert in the improving of them, and fearing they should, at one time or another, get a blow thereby; also taking notice that if he were let alone in his way, they should keep no servants for him, because he would entertain any, how vile soever; sundry of the chief of the straggling plantations met together, and agreed, by mutual consent, to send to Plimouth, who were then of more strength to join with them, to suppress this mischief; who considering the particulars, proposed to them to join together to take some speedy course to prevent, if it might be, the evil that was accruing towards them; and resolved first to admonish him of his wickedness respecting the premises, laying before him the injury he did to their common safety, and that his acting concerning the same was against the King's proclamation; but he insolently persisted on in his way, and said the King was dead, and his displeasure with him, and threatened them that if they came to molest him, they should

look to themselves; so that they saw there was no way but to take him by force; so they resolved to proceed in such a way, and obtained of the Governour of Plimouth, to send Capt Standish, and some other aid with him, to take the said Morton by force, the which accordingly was done; but they found him to stand stily on his defence, having made fast his doors, armed his consorts, set powder and shot ready upon the table, scoffed and scorned at them, and he and his accomplices being filled with strong drink, were desperate in their way; but he himself coming out of doors to make a shot at Capt. Standish, he stepping to him, put by his piece and took him, and so little hurt was done; and so he was brought prisoner to Plimouth, and continued in durance, till an opportunity of sending him for England, which was done at their common charge, and letters also with him, to the honourable council for New-England, and returned again into the country in some short time, with less punishment than his demerits deserved, as was apprehended.

The year following he was again apprehended, and sent for England, where he lay a considerable time in Exeter gaol; for besides his miscarriage here in New-England, he was suspected of having murdered a man that had ventured monies with him when he first came into New-England; and a warrant was sent over from the lord Chief Justice to apprehend him; by virtue thereof he was, by the Governour of the Massachusetts, sent into England, and for other of his misdemeanours amongst them in that government, they demolished his house, that it might no longer be a roost for such unclean birds. Notwithstanding he got free

in England again, and wrote an infamous and scurrilous book against many godly and chief men of the country, full of lies and slanders, and full fraught with profane calumnies against their names and persons, and the ways of God. But to the intent I may not trouble the reader any more with mentioning of him in this history; in fine, sundry years after he came again into the country, and was imprisoned at Boston, for the aforesaid book and other things, but denied several things therein, affirming his book was adulterated. And soon after being grown old in wickedness, at last ended his life at Piscataqua. But I fear I have held the reader too long about so unworthy a person, but hope it may be useful to take notice how wickedness was beginning, and would have further proceeded, had it not been prevented timely.*

* From the order of occurrences in this narrative, relative to Thomas Morton, it would be inferred, that the May-pole was cut down by Mr. Endicot, before Morton was arrested by Capt. Standish; but letters from Plymouth to the Council for New-England, and to Sir Ferdinand Gorges, written to be sent to England, with the prisoner, bear date June 9, 1628, which was more than two months before Mr. Endicot's arrival at Salem. [See Gov. Bradford's Letter Book, Hist. Coll. III, 62, 63.] Morton was arrested in the spring or early in the summer of 1628, and sent to England, a prisoner, soon afterward, by a ship going from the Isle of Shoals. Mr. Oldham had so acquired the confidence of the Plymouth people, since their reconciliation, that the prisoner was delivered to his charge. Mr. Endicot arrived in August, and very soon made his visit to the unruly people at Mount Wollaston. In August 1629, Morton returned, being employed by Mr. Allerton as his scribe, which gave great offence. Mr. Allerton was required to dismiss him. "Upon which," says Gov. Bradford, "he goes to his old nest at Merry-Mount." In Sept. 1632, Governour Winthrop having arrived, Morton was "adjudged to be imprisoned till he were sent into England, and his house burnt down for his many injuries offered to the Indians, and other misdemeanors." [Winth. Jour. 20.] He was sent to England, soon afterward, in the ship *Whale*. His "scurrilous book" was published in 1634. Its imprint is as of Amsterdam, but it was probably printed in London. His letter to his friend Jeffries in 1634, published in Hazard's Historical Collection, and in Hutchinson's History, I, 35, shews the taste and temper of the man, and his inveterate resentment against the New-England plantations and their leaders. His book, entitled *New English*

1629.

This year sundry ships came out of England, and arrived at Neumkeak,* where Mr. John Endicot had

* Now called Salem. M.

Canaan, or New Canaan, is very rarely to be met with. We know of but one copy in this country, which was accidentally procured, some years past, at Berlin, by a gentleman in diplomatic employment in that country. A review of it, written by the late Rev. Dr. Eliot, may be seen in the Monthly Anthology, for June and July, 1810. That part of the book which relates to the Plymouth planters, is full of invective and misrepresentation, calculated to gain a degree of indulgence, however, with some readers, from the air of pleasantry which he adopts. He abounds in the vulgar wit of nick names; Standish he calls Capt. Shrimap, Endicot is styled Capt. Littleworth, Mr. Fuller is Dr. Noddy. It is not known, nor will it be thought worth while to inquire, who are intended by the appellations of Innocence Faircloth, Matthias Charter-party, and Master Babbie.

The name of the ship, in which he was conveyed from Boston to England, exercises his punning genius. To this he alludes, in his letter to Jeffries; "Now *Jenas* being set ashore, may safely cry, repent ye cruel shipmates, repent, there are but 110 days." The party which arrested him he calls the *Nine worthies of New-Canaan*, and affects to represent the name *Merry-Mount*, as a blundering acceptance of *Mare-Mount*. One of his chapters, which relates to his arrest and imprisonment, is thus entitled, "How the nine worthies sent mine host at Mare-Mount into the enchanted castle at Plymouth, and terrified him with the Monster Briareus."—

Morton's last return to New-England was in 1643. Hutchinson says he was called to account for the letter to Jeffries, as well as for his Book; that he was fined 100*l.*, which he was unable to pay, and that nothing but his age saved him from the whipping-post.

The assessment of the expenses of the first arrest of Morton, and sending him to England, is recorded in Governour Bradford's Letter Book, and gives a view of the relative strength or ability of the different settlements at that period.

From Plymouth,	- - - - -	12	10
From Naumkeak, [Salem]	- - - - -	1	10
From Piscataquack, [Mason's Company]	- - - - -	2	10
From Mr. Jeffrey and Mr. Buslem,	- - - - -	2	
From Natascoot,	- - - - -	1	10
From Mrs. Thompson, [Squantum neck]	- - - - -		15
From Mr. Blackston, [Boston]	- - - - -		12
From Edward Hilton, [Dover]	- - - - -	1	
		112	7

The explanations included in brackets are from Dr. Belknap's copy of this abstract, in his Biography; [II, 334.] It does not include the whole expense attending the business. "It cost us," says Governour Bradford, "a great deal more, and yet to little effect, as the event sheweth." *Hist. Collec. III, 61.*

chief command;* and by infection that grew among the passengers at sea, it spread also among them on shore, of which many died, some of the scurvy, and others of infectious fevers. Mr. Endicot understanding that there was one at Plimouth that had skill in such diseases, sent thither for him; at whose request he was sent unto them. And afterwards acquaintance and Christian love and correspondency came on betwixt the said Governour and the said Endicot; which was furthered by congratulatory letters that passed betwixt each other; one whereof, because it shews the beginning of their Christian fellowship, I shall here insert.

The copy of a letter from Mr. Endicot to Mr. Bradford, as followeth:

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL SIR,

It is a thing not usual, that servants to one master, and of the same household, should be strangers; I assure you I desire it not; nay, to speak more plainly, I cannot be so to you. God's people are all marked with one and the same mark, and sealed with one and the same seal, and have, for the main, one and the same heart, guided by one and the same spirit of truth; and

* The first patent for Massachusetts, was granted March 19, 1628. Mr. Endicot with a small company was sent to carry on the plantation at Naumkeak, [Salem] "make way for the settling a colony, and be their agent to order all affairs till the patentees themselves came over." He sailed from England, June 20, and arrived at Naumkeak, in August, 1628. Mr. Conant and his small company had before removed thither, from Cape-Ann. There were five ships despatched this year (1629) with passengers for that plantation. Mr. Higginson, with the three first ships, arrived in June. The place was then called Salem, with reference to Paulina lxxvi, 2. There was, at that time, about half a score of houses. The aggregate number of the old and new planters was about 300, of which about 200 remained at Salem, and the rest repaired to other places, principally to Charlestown. *Higginson's Journal, in Huichin. Collect. of papers, and his New England plantation. Hist. Coll. I, 117.*

where this is, there can be no discord; nay, here must needs be a sweet harmony; and the same request, with you, I make unto the Lord, that we may, as Christian brethren, be united by an heavenly and unfeigned love, bending all our hearts and forces in furthering a work beyond our strength, with reverence and fear, fastening our eyes always on him that is only able to direct and prosper all our ways. I acknowledge myself much bound to you for your kind love and care in sending Mr. Fuller amongst us, and rejoice much that I am by him satisfied touching your judgment of the outward form of God's worship; it is, as far as I can yet gather, no other than is warranted by the evidence of truth, and the same which I have professed and maintained ever since the Lord in mercy revealed himself unto me, being far from the common report that hath been spread of you, touching that particular; but God's children must not look for less here below; and it is a great mercy of God that he strengtheneth them to go through with it. I shall not need, at this time, to be tedious unto you, for (God willing) I purpose to see your face shortly; in the mean time I humbly take my leave of you, committing you to the Lord's blessing and protection, and rest your assured loving friend,

JOHN ENDICOT.*

Neumkeak, May 11, 1629.

* Mr. Prince observes, that Governour Bradford, and Mr. Morton after him, write as if Dr. Fuller first went to Salem, after the arrival of the passengers in 1629; but that the date of Mr. Endicot's letter proves them to be incorrect in this particular, it being before the arrival of any of their ships which came to Salem in that year. He infers therefore that it was a sickness among the preceding company, which arrived in 1628, with Mr. Endicot, which Dr. Fuller went to relieve. It is probable that he made repeated visits to the place, and that he did visit and assist the sick of the company of 1629; though this letter, as Mr. Prince observes, can have no reference to that service, if the date be correct.

In the three ships that came over this year to Salem, in the month of June, besides many godly Christians, there came over three ministers, two of them, Mr. Skelton and Mr. Higginson, were nonconformists, who having suffered much in their native land, upon that account, they came over with a professed intention of practising church reformation; the third minister, Mr. Bright, was a conformist, who, not agreeing in judgment with the other two, removed to Charlestown, where also, not agreeing with those godly Christians there, that were for reformation, after one year's stay in the country, he returned for England; but Mr. Higginson and Mr. Skelton, in pursuance of the ends of their coming over into this wilderness, acquainted the Governour, Mr. Endicot, and the rest of the godly people whom they found inhabitants of the place, and the chief of the passengers that came over with them, with their professed intentions, and consulted with them about settling a reformed congregation; from whom they found a general and hearty concurrence, so that, after some conference together about this matter, they pitched upon the 6th of August for their entering into a solemn covenant with God, and one another, and also for the ordaining of their ministers; of which they gave notice to the church of Plimouth, that being the only church that was in the country before them. The people made choice of Mr. Skelton for their pastor, and Mr. Higginson for their teacher. And accordingly it was desired of Mr. Higginson to draw up a confession of faith and covenant in scripture language; which being done, was agreed upon. And because they foresaw that this

wilderness might be looked upon as a place of liberty, and therefore might in time be troubled with erroneous spirits, therefore they did put in one article into the confession of faith, on purpose, about the duty and power of the magistrate in matters of religion. Thirty copies of the aforesaid confession of faith and covenant being written out for the use of thirty persons, who were to begin the work. When the 6th of August came, it was kept as a day of fasting and prayer, in which, after the sermons and prayers of the two ministers, in the end of the day, the aforesaid confession of faith and covenant being solemnly read, the forenamed persons did solemnly profess their consent thereunto: and then proceeded to the ordaining of Mr. Skelton pastor, and Mr. Higginson teacher of the church there. Mr. Bradford, the Governour of Plymouth, and some others with him, coming by sea, were hindered by cross winds, that they could not be there at the beginning of the day, but they came into the assembly afterward, and gave them the *right hand of fellowship*, wishing all prosperity, and a blessed success unto such good beginnings. After which, at several times, many others joined to the church in the same way. The confession of faith and covenant, forementioned, was acknowledged only as a direction, pointing unto that faith and covenant contained in the holy scripture, and therefore no man was confined unto that form of words, but only to the substance, end and scope of the matter contained therein. And for the circumstantial manner of joining to the church, it was ordered according to the wisdom and faithful-

ness of the elders, together with the liberty and ability of any person.*

Hence it was, that some were admitted by expressing their consent to that written confession of faith and covenant; others did answer to questions about the principles of religion that were publicly propounded to them; some did present their confession in writing, which was read for them; and some, that were able and willing, did make their confession in their own words and way; a due respect was also had unto the conversations of men, viz. that ~~they~~ were without scandal. But some of the passengers that came over at the same time, observing that the ministers did not, at all, use the book of common prayer, and that they did administer baptism and the Lord's supper without the ceremonies, and that they professed also to use discipline in the congregation against scandalous persons, by a personal application of the word of God, as the case might require, and that some that were scandalous were denied admission into the church, they began to raise some trouble; of these Mr. Samuel Brown and his brother were the chief, the one being a lawyer, the other a merchant, both of them amongst the number of the first patentees, men of estates, and men of parts and port in the place. These two brothers gathered a company together, in a place distinct from the public assembly, and there, sundry times, the book of common prayer was read unto such as resorted thither. The governour, Mr. Endicot, taking notice of the

* For a copy of this Covenant, see Appendix N

disturbance that began to grow amongst the people by this means, he convented the two brothers before him. They accused the ministers as departing from the orders of the church of England, that they were separatists, and would be anabaptists, &c. but for themselves, they would hold to the orders of the church of England. The ministers answered for themselves, they were neither separatists nor anabaptists, they did not separate from the church of England, nor from the ordinances of God there, but only from the corruptions and disorders there; and that they came away from the common prayer and ceremonies, and had suffered much for their non-conformity in their native land, and therefore being in a place where they might have their liberty, they neither could nor would use them, because they judged the imposition of these things to be sinful corruptions in the worship of God. The governour and council, and the generality of the people, did well approve of the ministers answer; and therefore finding those two brothers to be of high spirits, and their speeches and practices tending to mutiny and faction, the governour told them, that New England was no place for such as they; and therefore he sent them both back for England, at the return of the ships the same year; and though they breathed out threatenings both against the governour and ministers there, yet the Lord so disposed of all, that there was no further inconvenience followed upon it.

The two ministers there being seriously studious of reformation, they considered of the state of their children, together with their parents; concerning which,

letters did pass between Mr. Higginson, and Mr. Brewster the reverend elder of the church of Plimouth, and they did agree in their judgments, viz. concerning the church-membership of the children with their parents, and that baptism was a seal of their membership; only when they were adult, they being not scandalous, they were to be examined by the church officers, and upon their approbation of their fitness, and upon the children's public and personally owning of the covenant, they were to be received unto the Lord's supper. Accordingly, Mr. Higginson's eldest son, being about fifteen years of age, was owned to have been received a member together with his parents, and being privately examined by the pastor, Mr. Skelton, about his knowledge in the principles of religion, he did present him before the church when the Lord's supper was to be administered, and the child, then publicly and personally owning the covenant of the God of his father, he was admitted unto the Lord's supper; it being then professedly owned, according to 1 Cor. vii, 14; that the children of the church are holy unto the Lord as well as their parents, accordingly the parents owning and retaining the baptism, which they themselves received in their infancy, in their native land, as they had any children born, baptism was administered unto them, viz. to the children of such as were members of that particular church.

Mr. Higginson lived but one year after the settling of the church there, departed this life about the same time the next year, in the month of August, 1630.* Mr.

* The Rev. Francis Higginson was educated in Emmanuel College, Cambridge. He was minister of one of the parishes in Leicester, in England, and was deprived

Skelton lived until the year 1634, when he also quietly slept in the Lord, and were both buried at Salem. As it is an honour to be in Christ before others, as in Rom. xvi, so also to be first in the Lord's work, and to be faithful in it, as these two holy men were, who made such a beginning in church-reformation, as was afterwards followed by many others.

In the year 1634, Mr. Roger Williams removed from Plimouth to Salem;* he had lived about three years

of his living for non-conformity. "He was a good scholar, says Mr. Neal, of a sweet and affable behaviour, and having a charming voice was one of the most acceptable and popular preachers of the Country." He died in the 43d year of his age. His last sermon, delivered but a few weeks before his death, was from Matt. xi, 7; *What went you out into the wilderness to see?* He was induced to this exertion, though then in a deep decline, from the arrival of many new settlers at Salem, part of the company associated with Governour Winthrop. He left two sons; Francis the eldest who was an excellent scholar, returned to England, and was settled in the ministry, at Kerby Steven, in Westmoreland. The other son, John, whom Dr. Mather denominates, "another Origen," preached some years at Guilford in Connecticut, and, in 1660, was settled at Salem in the same church, of which his father had been pastor. He died in 1708, aged 95. The name of this venerable man, is subscribed with that of Mr. Thacher, to the approbation prefixed to the New-England's Memorial. "It is remarkable," says the Rev. Dr. Eliot, "that no kind of notice of the character of Mr. Skelton, a man so distinguished among the first planters, should be given by the writers of that, or the succeeding generation." Mr. Bentley informs us, (*Description of Salem, Hist. Coll. vi, 247,*) that "no particular records were kept of his services. He was a rigid disciplinarian, but inclined to the utmost equality of privileges in church and state. His opinions made him no personal enemies; but as he never acted alone, he yielded to others all the praise of his best actions."

* Mr. Williams arrived at Boston, in February 1631, and on the 12th of April, in the same year, was settled at Salem, as teaching elder, in connexion with Mr. Skelton. A letter of reproof was written from the court at Boston, to Mr. Endicot. "They marvelled they would choose him without advising with the council." (*Winthrop's Journal, 25.*) One objection against him was, that he refused to join with the churches at Boston, because they would not make a public declaration of their repentance, for having communion with the churches of England while they tarried there. "Persecution, says Mr. Bentley, instead of calm exposition, instantly commenced, and Mr. Williams, before the close of summer, was obliged to retire to Plymouth." According to the same writer he returned to Salem before the end of 1632.

at Plimouth, where he was well accepted as an assistant in the ministry to Mr. Ralph Smith then pastor of the church there, but by degrees venting of divers of his own singular opinions, and seeking to impose them upon others, he not finding such a concurrence as he expected, he desired his diemission to the church of Salem, which though some were unwilling to, yet through the prudent counsel of Mr. Brewster, the ruling elder there, fearing that his continuance amongst them might cause divisions, and there being many abler men in the bay, they would better deal with him than themselves could, and foreseeing, what he professed he feared concerning Mr. Williams, which afterwards came to pass, that he would run the same course of rigid separation and anabaptistry, which Mr. John Smith the se-baptist at Amsterdam had done;* the church of Plimouth consented to his diemission, and such as did adhere to him were also dismissed, and removed with him, or not long after him, to Salem. He came to Salem in the time of Mr. Skelton's weakness, who lived not long after Mr. Williams was come, whereupon after some time, the church there called him to office; but he having in one years time, filled that place with principles of rigid separation, and tending to anabaptistry, the prudent magistrates of the Massachusetts jurisdiction sent to the church of Salem,

* "Mr. Smith," says Mr. Neal, "was a learned man, of good abilities, but of an unsettled head. He was for refusing upon the Brownists scheme, and at last declared for the principles of the Baptists; upon this, he left Amsterdam, and settled, with his disciples, at Ley, where being at a loss for a proper administrator of the ordinance of Baptism, he plunged himself, and then performed the ceremony upon others, which gained him the name of *Se-Baptist*."

desiring them to forbear calling him to office, which they hearkening to, was a cause of much disturbance; for Mr. Williams had begun, and then being in office, he proceeded more vigorously to vent many dangerous opinions, as amongst many others these were some; that it is not lawful for an unregenerate man to pray, nor to take an oath, and in special, not the oath of fidelity to the civil government; nor was it lawful for a godly man to have communion, either in family prayer, or in an oath, with such as they judged unregenerate; and therefore he himself refused the oath of fidelity, and taught others so to do; also, that it was not lawful so much as to hear the godly ministers of England, when any occasionally went thither, and therefore he admonished any church members that had done so, as for heinous sin; also he spake dangerous words against the patent, which was the foundation of the government of the Massachusetts colony; also he affirmed, that the magistrates had nothing to do in matters of the first table, but only the second; and that there should be a general and unlimited toleration of all religions, and for any man to be punished for any matters of his conscience, was persecution.

And further, he procured the church of Salem's consent unto letters of admonition, which were written and sent by him, in their name, to the churches at Boston, Charlestown, New-town (now Cambridge,) &c. accusing the magistrates, that were members of the respective churches, of sundry heinous offences, which he laid unto their charge; and though divers did acknowledge their error and gave satisfaction, yet Mr. Williams himself, notwithstanding all the pains that

was taken with him by Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, and many others, to bring him to a sight of his errors and miscarriages, and, notwithstanding all the court's gentle proceedings with him, he not only persisted, but grew more violent in his way, insomuch as he staying at home in his own house, sent a letter, which was delivered and read in the public church assembly, the scope of which was to give them notice, that if the church of Salem would not separate not only from the churches of Old England, but the churches of New-England too, he would separate from them. The more prudent and sober part of the church, being amazed at his way, could not yield unto him; whereupon he never came to the church assembly more, professing separation from them as antichristian, and not only so, but he withdrew all private religious communion from any that would hold communion with the church there, insomuch as he would not pray nor give thanks at meals with his own wife nor any of his family, because they went to the church assemblies. Divers of the weaker sort of the church-members, that had been thoroughly leavened with his opinions, of which number were divers women that were zealous in their way, did by degrees fall off to him, insomuch as he kept a meeting in his own house, unto which a numerous company did resort, both on the Sabbath day and at other times in way of separation from, and opposition to the church assembly there; which the prudent magistrates understanding, and seeing things grow more and more towards a general division and disturbance, after all other means used in vain, they passed a sentence of banishment against him out of

the Massachusetts Colony, as against a disturber of the peace. b. th of the church and commonwealth.

After which Mr. Williams sat down in a place called Providence, out of the Massachusetts jurisdiction, and was followed by many of the members of the church at Salem. who did zealously adhere to him. and who cried out of the persecution that was against him; some others also resorted to him from other parts. They had not been long there together, but from rigid separation they fell to anabaptistry, renouncing the baptism which they had received in their infancy, and taking up another baptism, and so began a church in that way; but Mr. Williams stopped not there long, for after some time he told the people that followed him, and joined with him in a new baptism, that he was out of the way himself, and had misled them, for he did not find that there was any upon earth that could administer baptism, and therefore their last baptism was a nullity, as well as their first; and therefore they must lay down all, and wait for the coming of new apostles; and so they dissolved themselves and turned Seekers, keeping that one principle, *That every one should have liberty to worship God according to the light of their own consciences*; but otherwise not owning any churches or ordinances of God any where upon earth.

Thus much was thought meet to be inserted here concerning the great and lamentable apostacy of Mr. Williams, that it may be a warning to all others to take heed of a gradual declining from, and forsaking the churches of Christ. and ordinances of God in them, lest they be left of God to run such a course as he

hath done; *Wherefore let him that thinks he stands, take heed lest he fall*; 1 Cor. x, 12; as also to be a motive to the saints to remember him unto God in their fervent prayers for his return, he having been sometimes an able dispenser of the word of God, and, in several respects, of an exemplary conversation.

And yet that there may be a standing evidence of the care that was had in those times to prevent the growth of errours, and of the exercises of the communion of churches for that end, it is thought meet further to insert this passage; that before the putting forth of the civil power of the magistrate for the removing of Mr. Williams from Salem, and besides other means also used, there was a public admonition sent in writing from the church of Boston to the church of Salem, for the reducing of Mr. Williams, and the erring part of the church. The title of the writing was,

Errours in doctrine maintained by some of the brethren of the church of Salem, tending to the disturbance of religion and peace, in family, church and commonwealth, viz.

1. THAT it is not lawful to call upon an unregenerate man to pray for himself.

2. It is not lawful for a regenerate man to pray with his carnal family.

3. It is not lawful for magistrates to take an oath of fidelity from unregenerate men.

4. It is not lawful for magistrates to take an oath of fidelity from the body of their subjects, though regenerate, and members of churches.

5. It is not lawful for magistrates to punish the breaches of the first table, unless thereby the civil peace of the commonwealth be disturbed.

Whence also it follows, and is confessed,

That a church wholly declining into arianism, papism, familism or other heresies, being admonished, and convinced thereof by other churches, and not reforming, may not be reformed by the civil magistrate, in a way of civil justice, unless it break the civil peace.

These errors were solidly confuted, and the contrary truths asserted, by the word of God, in that writing which was subscribed by

John Cotton, *Teacher of the Church of Boston.*

Thomas Oliver, } *Elders of the same church.*
Thomas Leverett, }

Mr. Wilson, the pastor of the church being at that time absent upon a voyage to England.*

* Gov. Hutchinson places the proceedings against Roger Williams in 1634. But, from Gov. Winthrop's Journal, it appears, that the sentence of banishment was in November, 1635. And the admonition, or specification of Errors in Doctrine, recited in the Memorial, appears to be the same, which is mentioned in Winthrop's Journal, under the date of July 8, 1635. This supposition corresponds with the note respecting Mr. Wilson's absence, who did not return from England, on his second voyage, until October, 1635. Mr. Williams's flight was in the winter, and in his letter to Major Mason, written thirty-five years afterwards, he manifests a lively recollection of his sufferings. "I first pitched and began to build and plant at Secunk, now Rehoboth, but I received a letter from my antient friend Mr. Winslow, then Governour of Plymouth, professing his own and others love and respect for me, yet lovingly advising me, since I was fallen into the edge of their bounds, and they were loth to displease the Bay, to remove but to the other side of the water, and then, he said, I had the country free before me and might be as free as themselves and we should be loving neighbours together." Gov. Winthrop, he observes, had privately written to him, "to steer his course to the Nahigansetts Bay, and Indians, for many high, and heavenly, and public ends." [*Hist. Coll. I. 274.*] Yielding to these suggestions, he crossed Patucket river, and, at Providence, became the founder of a small but flourishing colony. His station was peculiarly difficult. He was surrounded by large and powerful tribes of

1630.

THIS year it pleased God, of his rich grace, to transport over into the bay of the Massachusetts divers honourable personages, and many worthy Christians, whereby the Lord began in a manifest manner and way to

the natives, Narragansetts, Wamponoags, Pequots, Nipmugs, and Moheagans; but he happily acquired an influence, over their savage minds, essential to his own security, and which enabled him to render important services to the neighbouring plantations, on many critical emergencies. "It is an happy relief," says the Rev. Author of the Description of Salem, "in contemplating so eccentric a character, that no sufferings induced any purposes of revenge, for which he had great opportunities; that great social virtues corrected the first error of his opinions and that he lived to exhibit to the natives a noble example of generous goodness, and to be the parent of the independent state of Rhode Island." It is not easy to form a correct estimate of the character of Roger Williams. By Dr. C. Mather he is considered as the *Corah* in the *New English wilderness*, and like a Wind Mill set on fire by its own rapid motion. Modern writers dispel these dark shades and give a more agreeable, probably a more faithful likeness. Mr. Callender in his Century Sermon, describes him as "one of the most disinterested men that ever lived; a most pious and heavenly soul;" and Dr. Eliot finds in some of his compositions, "sentiments, which have been admired in the writings of Milton and Fumaux." On the great question of toleration, the now unimpeached verdict of Christendom sustains his opinion. Other sentiments which he maintained, if correctly represented, none will defend. The requisition of oaths and the punishment of profaneness, otherwise than by mere ecclesiastical censures, seem essential to the well-being of society. His impeachment of the patent, gave just cause of apprehension and alarm; and his frivolous but impetuous and persevering attack on the Cross, in the military colours, produced a controversy, vexatious to the Government and degrading to the country. With all his faults it must be admitted, that there was much to approve and even to admire in his character. He had many warm and steady friends in this country and in England: even those who felt bound by duty to oppose him, manifested their personal esteem. "It pleased the Father of Spirits," says Mr. Williams, in his letter to Major Mason, "to touch many hearts dear to him, with some relentings; amongst which, that great and pious soul, Mr. Winslow, melted, and kindly visited me at Providence, and put a piece of gold into the hands of my wife for our supply." It is a loss to mankind, says Dr. Johnson, when any good action is forgotten, and it is grateful to find this gentle trait among the severities inflicted on Mr. Williams, with his ingenuous acknowledgment of that act of kindness, after the lapse of many eventful years. In the same letter he speaks of his continued correspondence with Mr. Winthrop; who, with some of the Massachusetts council, was disposed not only to recall him from banishment; but, also to confer on him some distinguished mark of favour for

make known the great thoughts which he had of planting the gospel in this remote and barbarous wilderness, and honouring his own way of instituted worship, causing such and so many to adhere thereunto, and fall upon the practice thereof; among the rest, a chief one amongst them was that famous pattern of piety and justice, Mr. John Winthrop, the first Governour of the jurisdiction, accompanied with divers other precious sons of Sion, which might be compared to the most fine gold. Amongst whom also I might name that reverend and worthy man, Mr. John Wilson, eminent for love and zeal; he likewise came over this year, and bare a great share of the difficulties of these new beginnings, with great cheerfulness and alac-

his services. "It is known, says Mr. Williams, who hindered, who never promoted the liberty of other men's consciences." It is conjectured that he had Mr. *Dudley* in view in this intimation, who was Governour of Massachusetts, when Mr. Williams was banished, and to whom all, who would introduce novelties, or favoured toleration, were peculiarly obnoxious. Mr. Williams, died in April, 1633, aged eighty-four years. His opinions had reference to topics of so much interest, that we must expect to meet a bias of considerable strength, in those who oppose, and in those who defend him. His own writings are often intricate and confused. After Winthrop's Journal, the Magnalia, Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, and Callender's Century Sermon, we should consult Dr. Eliot's and Mr. Allen's Biographical Sketches of his character; Rev. Mr. Bentley's Description and History of Salem, Hist. Coll. Vol. VI; the Strictures on that performance, in Vol. VII; the Author's Reply, Vol. VIII; and Dr. Eliot's Ecclesiastical History of Massachusetts, in the IXth and Xth Volumes of those collections. As Mr. Morton's arrangement is in the form of annals, his account of Mr. Williams is evidently misplaced. It would have been more properly inserted under the year 1634 or 1635. To return to 1629, Mr. Allerton who made a third voyage to England in the Autumn of 1628, as agent for Plymouth Colony, returned this year, in the month of August. The principal objects of Mr. Allerton's agency at that time, were to procure an enlargement to their patent, for a territory on the Kennebeck, which they had before obtained; a new patent for their home plantation, and to aid in the removal of their Leyden friends. He was unsuccessful as to the patent, and returned again to England, in the fall, on the same business. Thirty-five of the Leyden people, with their families, arrived this year, (1629,) at Plymouth. They came in the ships despatched to Salem.

rity of spirit. They came over with a fleet of ten ships, three of them arriving first at Salem, in which several of the chiefest of them came, who repaired, sundry of them, in some short time, into the bay of the Massachusetts; the other seven ships arrived at Charlestown, where it pleased the Lord to exercise them with much sickness, and being destitute of housing and shelter, and lying up and down in booths, some of them languished and died. Yea, it pleased God to take away amongst the rest that blessed servant of Christ, Mr. Isaac Johnson with his lady soon after their arrival, with sundry other precious saints.*

This sickness being heavy upon them, caused the principal of them to propose to the rest to set a day apart to seek the Lord, for the assuaging of his displeasure therein, as also for direction and guidance in the solemn enterprize of entering into church fellowship; which solemn day of humiliation was observed by all, not only of themselves, but also by their breth-

* Seventeen ships with about 1500 passengers, for the settlement of Massachusetts, sailed from England this year. Eleven of the number arrived, before the end of July: the other six before the end of the year. Governour Winthrop, with several of the assistants, were embarked in the *Arabella*, and arrived at Salem, June 12th. Just before they left England, a discreet and affectionate public letter was addressed, by the Governour and Company, to their brethren of the Church of England, to remove suspicions and misconstructions, and to ask their prayers. It is dated, April 7, 1630, on board the *Arabella*, at Yarmouth. [*Hazard's Collections*, I. 305.] Gov. Hutchinson remarks, that this paper has occasioned a dispute, whether the first settlers of Massachusetts, were of the Church of England or not: "however problematicl," he adds, "it may be what they were while they remained in England, they left no room for doubt after their arrival in America." Mr. Fuller, the Plymouth Physician, visited the new comers, very soon after their arrival; and amidst his professional attentions, obtained from some of the leading men their views of ecclesiastical regimen, which he communicated to Gov. Bradford. [*See his Letter of June 28, 1630. Hist. Coll. III. 74.*]

ren at Plimouth in their behalf;* and the Lord was entreated not only to assuage the sickness, but also encouraged their hearts to a beginning, and in some short time after to a further progress in the great work of erecting a way of worshipping of Christ in church fellowship, according to primitive institution. Those choice and eminent servants of Christ did not despise their poor leaders and fellow-soldiers that they found in the same work of the Lord with them, at Plimouth, but treated them as brethren, much pitying their great straits and hardships they had endured in the first beginning of planting this wilderness, promising all helpfulness even out of their own estates according to their power; and their said brethren at Plimouth were persuaded they spake as they thought in their hearts; for, such was the simplicity of those times, as that divers faces were not carried under a hood; pride, covetousness, profaneness, and sinful self, were ashamed to be seen, except in obscure places and persons. O poor New-England! Consider what thou wast, and what thou now art! Repent and do thy first works, saith the Lord! So may thy peace be as a river, and thy righteousness as the waves of the sea, Isa. xlviii, 18, 19. So be it. But to return.

The first that began in the work of the Lord above-mentioned were their honored Governour, Mr. John Winthrop, Mr. Johnson, fore-named, that much honoured gentleman Mr. Thomas Dudley, and Mr. John Wilson, aforesaid; these four were the first that began

* The day of humiliation was Friday, July 30. Mr. Winslow and Mr. Fuller, being on a mission, at Salem, from Plymouth Church, with Mr. Allerton, write to their friends on this subject, July 26, 1630. *Hist. Coll. III. 78.*

that honourable church of Boston, unto whom there joined many other. The same year also Mr. George Phillips, who was a worthy servant of Christ and dispenser of his word, began a church-fellowship at Watertown; as did also Mr. Maverick and Mr. Warham, at Dorchester, the same ~~day~~ ^{year}.

Thus, out of small beginnings, greater things have been produced by his hand that made all things of nothing; and, as one small candle may light a thousand, so the light herè kindled hath shone unto many, yea, in some sort, to our whole nation. Let the glorious name of Jehovah have all the praise in all ages.*

* This closing reflection is copied, with very little variation, from Gov. Bradford's M. S. as appears by the quotation, with which Mr. Prince concludes his volume. "It seems uncertain, says Mr. Prince, whether by *here* he meant the Plymouth or Boston Church; though I am apt to think the latter." Another portion of the Leyden people, about sixty in number, arrived this year, in the spring, in a ship commanded by Capt. Pierce. Plymouth colony also received a new patent from the council for New England, dated January 13, 1629—30. The grant is to William Bradford and his associates. It recites the rise and progress of the plantation, and that it had then increased to near 300 people. It grants and confirms all that part of New England lying between Cohasset rivulet toward the north, and Narraganset river toward the south; the great western ocean [the Atlantic] toward the east, and a straight line extending into the main land toward the west, from the mouth of Narragansett river to the utmost bounds of a country called Pokenakut, alias Sowamset, and another like straight line, extending directly from the mouth of Cohasset river, toward the west, so far into the main land westward, as the utmost limits of Pokenakut alias Sowamset; likewise a tract of land on the river Kennebeck, extending from the utmost limits of Cobbiseconte, which adjoins the river Kennebeck, toward the western ocean, and a place called the Falls at Nequanikike, and fifteen miles each side of Kennebeck river, and all the said river Kennebeck that lies within said bounds. Messrs. Shirley and Hatherly write from Bristol, March 19, 1629—30, respecting this patent, of the difficulties encountered in their proceedings and of Mr. Allerton's eminent services. They also inform their Plymouth friends that they, with Messrs. Andrews and Beauchamp, had taken a patent for Penobscot, to carry on a trade with the natives, and had employed Edward Ashley, a young man to manage it, and invite them to join in the undertaking. They accept the offer, and unite with Ashley, in the agency, Thomas Willet, a discreet honest young man, who had then recently arrived at Plymouth, from Leyden. [See *Prince* 162, 303. *Hist. Coll.* III. 70, 74, and *Appendix O.*] In this year, was the first execution in Plymouth Colony. The unhappy criminal, was John Bilington, who was the

1631.

THIS year the reverend and useful instrument Mr. John Eliot came over, and not long after Mr. Weld, who began a church society; as likewise good old Mr. Maverick and Mr. Warham began one at Dorchester.*

first offender that received punishment after their arrival. [See Page 66.] He was now found guilty of murder. There is this brief memorandum of the occurrence in Gov. Winthrop's Journal, in September, 1630. "Billington executed at Plymouth, for murdering one." Gov. Hutchinson, and Mr. Prince, had more particular information on the subject, from Gov. Bradford's M. S. It appears that doubts were entertained, in the Colony, whether they had authority by their patent to inflict capital punishment; and they took the advice of their neighbours in Massachusetts, before they proceeded to pass sentence of death. It is observed that Billington was not one of their church, and that he was notoriously profane. "He came from London," says Gov. Bradford, "and I know not by what friends shuffled into our company." [Winthrop's Journal 20. Hutchinson's Hist. of Mass. II. 413. Printed II. 2, 3.] To those, who have been accustomed only to pleasant associations, in relation to *Billington Sea*, the favourite resort, at Plymouth, for summer amusement, it may be a relief to be reminded, that it was *Francis* and not *John* Billington, who was the discoverer of that beautiful lake.

* The first inhabitants of Dorchester were principally from the counties of Devon, Dorset, and Somerset. The Rev. John Warham was an eminent preacher at Exeter; the Rev. John Maverick, lived about 40 miles from that city. Mr. Maverick died at Boston, in February 1636; a large part of his society, had, just before, removed to Windsor, in Connecticut, and it was his intention to follow them. Mr. Warham accompanied those of his people who removed to Connecticut, and died at Windsor in 1670. Dr. Mather, in his account of Mr. Warham, is principally employed in giving a history of the origin of preaching with notes. "I suppose," says he, "the first preacher that ever thus preached with notes, in our New-England, was the Reverend Warham, who, though he were sometimes faulted for it, by some judicious men, who had never heard him, yet, when once they came to hear him, they could not but admire the notable energy of his ministry. He was a more vigorous preacher than the most of them, who have been applauded for never looking into a book in their lives." The Rev. John Eliot, afterward so distinguished as a missionary, arrived in November, 1631, and was settled, at Roxbury, in 1632. The Rev. Thomas Weld, who settled at the same place, arrived in 1632. According to a distinction which was then maintained, Mr. Weld was pastor, and Mr. Eliot teacher of the Church in Roxbury. Mr. Weld was sent agent to England, with Hugh Peters, and never returned.

Magnalia III. 121. Allen's Biog. Dict. Harris' Account of Dorchester. Hist. Coll. IX. Eliot's Life of John Eliot. Hist. Coll. VIII. 5.

1632.

This year one Sir Christopher Gardiner, being, as himself said, descended of the house of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who was so great a persecutor of God's saints in Queen Mary's days, arrived in New-England; he being a great traveller received his first honour of knighthood at Jerusalem, being made a knight at the sepulchre there. He came into these parts in pretence of forsaking the world, and to live a private life in a godly course, not unwilling to put himself upon any mean employment, and take any pains for his living, and sometimes offered himself to join to the church in sundry places; he brought over with him a servant or two, and a comely young woman, whom he called his cousin; but it was suspected, that, after the Italian manner, she was his concubine. He living at the Massachusetts, for some miscarriages for which he should have answered, fled away from authority, and got amongst the Indians in the jurisdiction of New-Plimouth. The Governour of the Massachusetts sent after him, but could not get him, and promised some reward to those that should find him. The Indians came to the Governour of Plimouth, and told where he was, and asked if they might kill him, but the said Governour told them no, they should not kill him by no means, but if they could take him alive and bring him to Plimouth, they should be paid for their pains; they said he had a gun and a rapier, and he would kill them if they went about it, and the Massachusetts Indians said they might kill him, but the Governour aforesaid told them

no, they should not kill him, but watch their opportunity and take him, and so they did; for when they light on him by a river side,* he got into a canoe to get from them; and when they came near him, whilst he presented his piece at them to keep them off, the stream carried the canoe against a rock, and threw both him and his piece, and the rapier into the water, yet he got out and having a little dagger by his side, they durst not close with him; but getting long poles, they soon beat the dagger out of his hand; so he was glad to yield, and they brought him to the Governour at Plymouth, but his hands and arms were swelled very sore with the blows they had given him; so he used him kindly, and sent him to a lodging where his arms were bathed and anointed, and he was quickly well again, and blamed the Indians for beating him so much. They said they did but a little whip him with sticks. In his lodging, those that made his bed found a little note book, that by accident had slipped out of his pocket, or some private place, in which was a memorial what day he was reconciled to the Pope or church of Rome, and in what university he took his scapula, and such and such a degree; it being brought to the Governour, he kept it and sent it to the Governour of the Massachusetts, with word of his taking, who sent for him; but afterwards he went for England and shewed his malice against New-England, but God prevented him;† of which I thought meet to

* He was apprehended at Namskett, (Middleborough,) and was conducted from Plymouth to Boston, by Capt. Underhill, and his Lieutenant, Dudley. See Winthrop's Journal, where this transaction is placed in 1631.

† According to Hutchinson, this gentleman was sent prisoner to England, in the ship Lyon, Capt. Pierce, which sailed from Salem, April 1, 1631, and in which

insert a letter from Mr. Winthrop, Governour of the Massachusetts, to Mr. Bradford, the Governour of Plimouth, in reference to this matter, as also the copy of an order relating to the same as followeth. And first of the letter:

SIR,

UPON a petition exhibited by Sir Christopher Gardiner, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Captain Mason, &c.* against you and us, the cause was heard before the Lords of the Privy Council, and afterwards reported to the King; the success whereof makes it evident to all, that the Lord hath care of his people here; the passages are admirable and too long to write. I heartily wish for an opportunity to impart them unto you being many sheets of paper; but the conclusion was, against all men's expectation, an order for our encouragement, and much blame and disgrace upon the adversaries, which calls for much thankfulness from us all, which we purpose, God willing, to express, in a day of thanksgiving to our merciful God, (I doubt not

went passengers, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Rev. Mr. Wilson, Mr. Coddington, Mr. Sharp and others. There was something mysterious in the character and deportment of Gardiner, calculated to excite apprehension and alarm, among the New-England planters, at that early period. But nothing criminal appears to have been proved against him, and the harsh treatment which he received, having a tendency to produce deep resentment, appears not only irregular, but imprudent. After his departure, a letter from Sir Ferdinand Gorges, to Thomas Morton, was received and opened by the Massachusetts Government, which indicated that he reposed much confidence in Sir Christopher Gardiner, in the prosecution of his claims and pretensions relative to territory in New-England.

Winthrop's Journal 27.

* It appears that Thomas Morton, and one Philip Ratchiff, were also active in this proceeding. The latter had been a servant of Mr. Cradock, and had suffered punishment at Boston, whipping, loss of ears and banishment, for his invectives against the churches and government. *Winth. Jour. 27, 49.*

but you will consider if it be not fit for you to join in it,*) who, as he hath humbled us by his late correction, so he hath lifted us up by an abundant rejoicing in our deliverance out of so desperate a danger; so as that which our enemies built their hopes upon to ruin us by, he hath mercifully disposed to our great advantage, as I shall further acquaint you when occasion shall serve. The copy of the order follows:

At the Court at Whitehall, January 19, 1632.

Sigillum Crescent.

Lord Privy Seal,	Mr. Trevers,†
Earl of Dorset.	Mr. Vice Chamberlain,
Lord Viscount Falkland,	Mr. Secretary Cook,
Lord Bishop of London,	Mr. Secretary Windebank,
Lord Cottington,	

WHEREAS his majesty hath lately been informed of great distraction and much disorder in the plantations in the parts of America, called New-England, which if they be true, and suffered to run on, would tend to the dishonour of this kingdom, and utter ruin of that plantation; for prevention whereof, and for the orderly settling of government, according to the intention of those patents which have been granted by his majesty, and from his late royal father king James; it hath pleased his majesty, that the lords and others of

* Intelligence of the favourable result of the proceedings, before the King and Council, was received, at Boston, in May, 1633. The thanksgiving proposed by Governour Winthrop, was kept on the 19th of June. *Winth. Jour.* 49, 50.

† In Governour Bradford's M. S. instead of the name *Trevers*, was this abbreviation, *Tr'r*, by which, says Mr. Prince, [Chron. II, 90] is meant Mr. Treasurer *Weston*.

his most honourable privy council should take the same into consideration; their lordships, in the first place, thought fit to make a committee of this board, to take examination of the matters informed; which committee having called divers of the principal adventurers in that plantation, and heard those that are complainants against them; most of the things informed being denied, and resting to be proved by parties that must be called from that place, which required a long expense of time, and at present their lordships finding they were upon despatch of men, victuals and merchandise for that place, all which would be at a stand if the adventurers should have discouragement, or take suspicion that the state here had no good opinion of that plantation; their lordships not laying the fault or fancies (if any be) of some particular men upon the general government, or principal adventurers, which in due time is to be inquired into; have thought fit, in the mean time, to declare, that the appearances were so fair, and hopes so great, that the country would prove both beneficial to this kingdom, and profitable to the particulars, as that the adventurers had cause to go on cheerfully with their undertakings, and rest assured, if things were carried as was pretended when the patents were granted, and accordingly as by the patents it is appointed, his majesty would not only maintain the liberties and privileges heretofore granted, but supply any thing further that might tend to the good government, prosperity and comfort of his people there of that place, &c.*

WILLIAM TRUMBALL.

* They were accused by the petitioners, of an intention to rebel and to cast off their allegiance, and to be wholly separate from the Church of England, and that

1633.

THIS year Mr. Edward Winslow was chosen Governour of the jurisdiction of New-Plimouth; and Mr.

their ministers and people continually railed against the church, state and bishops. A general government was urged as a remedy. Considering the zeal and activity of those opponents, and the spirit then predominating near the throne, there was great reason for apprehension, that some very injurious restraints would be imposed. But the Colonists had able friends and advocates. Sir Richard Saltonstall, Mr. Humphry and Mr. Cradock, had an opportunity of being heard before a Committee of the Council. The authors of the Universal History observe, that good sense and enlarged views of national interest got the better of Laud and his brethren of the established church, all-powerful as they were with their misled master. Some of the members of the board, sensible of the national advantages from the colonies, patronized them, and all the Puritans in England, who were then a formidable body, favoured them, as did most men of sense, even of the established religion."

Fol. XXXIX, 280.

Under the date of June 5, 1632, Governour Winthrop, in his Journal, notices the arrival of Mr. Winslow, at Plymouth, from London, in the William and Francis. Whether this was Edward Winslow is uncertain. There was a John Winslow, then of Plymouth, supposed to have been a brother of Edward, and who afterward removed to Boston. Governour Winthrop also mentions the return of Mr. Allerton from England, in June 1631. He must therefore have re-embarked for England, soon after his arrival in the spring of 1630, according to the recommendation of Messrs. Shirley and Hatherly, who pressed his speedy return, in their letter of March 19, 1629-30. This was the fifth voyage in the space of five years, which this gentleman had made across the Atlantic, in the service of the colony.

In April 1632, is the following entry in Governour Winthrop's Journal; "The Governour received letters from Plymouth, signifying that there had been a broil between their men at Sowamset and the Narragansett Indians, who set upon the English house there, to have taken Owsamequin the Sagamore of Packanoscott, who fled thither with all the people for refuge; and that Capt. Standish, being gone thither, to relieve the three English, which were in the house, sent home in all haste for more men and other provisions, upon intelligence, that Canonius, with a great army was coming against them; on that they wrote to our Governour for some powder to be sent with all possible speed, for, it seemed, they were unfurnished. Upon this the Governour presently despatched away the messenger with so much powder as he could carry, viz. 27 pounds.* The messenger returned and

* Upon some misunderstanding, soon afterward, between Governour Winthrop and the Deputy Governour, Mr. Dudley, a captious inquiry was made by Mr. Dudley, as to the Governour's authority to lend a quantity of powder to the people at Plymouth. Governour Winthrop answered, that it was of his own powder, and upon their urgent distress, their powder proving bad, when they were to send to Sowamset. [Winth. Jour. 40.] Mr. Dudley was too good a man to have entertained deliberate disgust at the prompt relief afforded by Gov-

William Bradford, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. John Howland, Mr. John Alden, Mr. John Done, Mr.

brought a letter from the Governour, signifying that the Indians were retired from Sowamsett to fight with the Pequens, [Pequots] which was probable; because John Sagamore and Chickatabott were gone with all their men to Canonious who had sent for them."

. In the last Plymouth patent, Pokanoket and Sowamset are considered as synonymous. "Pokanoket," as is observed by Dr. Belknap, [Amer. Biog. II, 221] "was a general name for the northern shore of the Narragansett Bay, between Providence and Taunton rivers, and comprehending the present townships of Bristol, Warren, and Barrington, in the state of Rhode Island, and Swanzey in Massachusetts. Its northern extent is unknown."—Mr. Callender, in his *Century Discourse*, [p. 30] considers Sowames, (supposed to be the same as Sowamsett) to be the southeasterly part of the neck called Phebe's neck, in Barrington; but intimates, in a note, that perhaps it is properly the name of a river where the two Swanzey rivers meet and run together for near a mile, when they empty themselves in the Narragansett bay, or of a small island, where those two first rivers meet, at the bottom of New Meadow creek, so called." This remark had not been noticed when the note on this subject in page 55, was penned, and so far as there is any diversity in the suggestions, Mr. Callender's opinion should certainly be preferred.

John Sagamore and Chickatabott, were Massachusetts Sachems. Canonious was the chief Sachem of the Narragansetts, the same who sent to Plymouth the symbolical challenge to war, in 1621. When Roger Williams wrote his "Key into the Languages of America," published in London, in 1643, he describes Canonious as being about eighty years old. Miantinomo, his nephew, was united with him for the government. He was elevated to that station before the settlement of Massachusetts, and visited Boston, in August, 1632, with his squaw and twelve sannops, being then called Meeumeh. The good agreement between those Sachems is recorded by Mr. Williams. They had never heard of the equanimity of the Antonines, but manifested a self-command, which might afford an useful lesson to the rulers of civilized nations. "The old Sachem," says Mr. Williams, "will not be offended at what the young Sachem doth; and the young Sachem will not do what he conceives will displease his uncle."

Early in the summer of this year, the French came in a pinnace to Penobscot, and rifled a trading house belonging to Plymouth, carrying away 300 weight of beaver and other goods.

Winth. Jour. 37.

In the autumn, Governour Winthrop, Rev. Mr. Wilson, and some other gentlemen, from Boston, visited Plymouth. In Winthrop's Journal the party is thus described, "the Governour, with Mr. Wilson, pastor of Boston, and the two Cap-

ernour Winthrop on that occasion, even if there had been any irregularity in the procedure. The exception was taken in a moment of irritation, and, with other inculpations, was mildly received by the Governour. They were men, who had been disciplined in the best of schools, and their animosities were transient.

Stephen Hopkins, and Mr. William Gilson, were chosen to be his Assistants in government.*

The plantation of Plymouth having had some former converse with the Dutch, as hath been hinted, they seeing them seated in a barren quarter, told them of a

trains, &c. The two Captains, it may be presumed, were *Endicott* and *Underhill*. They went on board Capt. Peirce's ship, (October 28) which had just before arrived from England, and were put on shore at a place called Massagons. "The next morning Mr. Pierce returned to his ship, and the Governour and his company went on foot, to Plymouth, and came thither within the evening. The Governour of Plymouth, Mr. William Bradford, (a very discreet, grave man) with Mr. Brewster the elder, and some others, came forth and met them without the town, and conducted them to the Governour's house, where they were kindly entertained, and feasted, every day, at several houses. On the Lord's day was a sacrament, which they did partake in; and in the afternoon Mr. Roger Williams (according to their custom) propounded a question, to which the pastor, Mr. Smith, spake briefly; Rev. Mr. Williams prophesied, and after, the Governour of Plymouth spake to the question; after him the elder, then some two or three more of the congregation. Then the elder desired the Governour of Massachusetts and Mr. Wilson to speak to it, which they did. When this was ended, the deacon, Mr. Fuller, put the congregation in mind of their duty of contribution, upon which the Governour and all the rest went down to the deacon's seat, and put into the bag and then returned.

October 31. Being Wednesday, about five in the morning, the Governour and his company came out of Plymouth; the Governour of Plymouth with the pastor and elder, &c. accompanying them, near half a mile out of town, in the dark. The Lieutenant Holmes, with two others, and the Governour's man, came along with them to the great swamp, about ten miles. When they came to the great river, they were carried over by one Ludham, their guide, (as they had been when they came) the stream being very strong, and up to the crotch; so the Governour called that passage Ludham's Ford. Then they came to a place called Hue's Cross: the Governour being displeased at the name, in respect that such things might hereafter give the papists occasion to say, that their religion was first planted in these parts, changed the name, and called it Hue's Folly; so they came that

* "Mr. Edward Winslow chosen Governour of Plymouth, Mr. Bradford having been Governour about ten years, and now by importunity got off."

Winth. Journ. 47.

In the preceding year a law was made in the colony, inflicting a penalty of twenty pounds on any person who should refuse the office of Governour, unless he were chosen two years successively, and whoever should refuse the office of counsellor or magistrate, was required to pay ten pounds. *Peirce II.* 75.

river called by them the fresh river,* which they often commended unto them for a good place, both for plantation and trade, and wished them to make use of it; but their hands being full otherwise, they let it pass; but afterwards, there coming a company of Indians into these parts, that were driven out of their country by the potency of the Pequots, they solicited them to go thither. These Indians not seeing them very forward to entertain the motion, which they moved with great ardency, they solicited them of the government of the Massachusetts in like sort, but they being then not fit to entertain the motion, in respect that they were newly come into the country, did not much regard it. Notwithstanding, some of the chief made a motion to join some here in a way of trade at the same river; on which a meeting was appointed to treat concerning the same matter, and some of Plymouth appointed to give them meeting, which they

evening to Massagassus, where they were bountifully entertained, as before, with store of turkeys, geese, ducks, &c. and the next day came to Boston."

Winth. Jour. 44, 45.

The great swamp, mentioned in this narrative, was in Pembroke. The great river is supposed to be what is now called *North river*. Ludham's ford was probably in Hanover, about 14 miles from Plymouth. Massagassus was probably written Wessagassus; and indicates the place which was commonly called Wessagussett. In August, 1636, "Wessagassus was made a Plantation, and Mr. Hall, a minister, and 21 families with him, allowed to sit down there—after called Weymouth." [*Winth. Jour.* 84.] The term *prophesying*, in the sense intended by Governor Winthrop, in his account of the religious exercises at Plymouth, has become obsolete. It originated in the reign of Elizabeth, when the Puritans maintained frequent religious exercises, in which texts of scripture were interpreted or discussed, one speaking to the subject, after another, in an orderly method. This was called *prophesying*, in reference to 1 Corin. xv, 31. *Ye may all prophesy, that all may learn, and all may be comforted.* [*Neal's Hist. Puritans, I, 184.*]

* Which is the same called Connecticut river. M.

did, but they cast in the way many fears of danger and loss, and the like, on which they of the Massachusetts declined the thing, and did not proceed therein. Whereupon those of Plimouth went alone, and prepared a frame of an house, and stowed it into a bark, ready to rear at their landing, and went up the said river and reared their said house, and fenced it about with a palisado, which was done with great difficulty, not only of the Dutch, but also of the Indians; notwithstanding, the place they possessed themselves of was such as the Dutch had nothing to do with, and likewise was bought of the Indians which they carried with them. And this was Plimouth's entrance there, who deserved to have held it, and not by friends to have been thrust out, as in a sort they afterwards were.*

* In April, 1631, "Wahquimachut, a Sachem, upon the river Quonehtacut, which lies West of Narraganset, came to the Governour at Boston, with John Sagamore and Jack Strame, (an Indian, which had lived in England, and had served Sir Walter Raleigh, and was now turned Indian again,) and divers of their Sannops, and brought a letter to the Governour from Mr. Endicot, to this effect; that the said Wahquimachut was very desirous to have some Englishmen come plant in his country; and offered to find them corn, and give them yearly eighty skins of beaver; and that the country was very fruitful, and wished that there might be two men sent with him to see the country." [*Winth. Journ.* 25.] These Indians were hospitably entertained, but the invitation was not accepted. In July, 1633, Governour Winslow and Mr. Bradford repaired to Boston, to confer about joining in a trade to Connecticut, for beaver and hemp, and to set up a trading house, to prevent the Dutch, who were about to build one. The Massachusetts people declined engaging in the enterprize, from apprehensions of the Indians, who were reported to be very numerous and warlike, and from alleged impediments to navigation at the entrance of the river. [*Winth. Journ.* 51.]

The expedition to Connecticut was commanded by Lieutenant, afterwards Major William Holmes. The Dutch had a fort with two pieces of cannon at the place, since called Hartford. Holmes, disregarding their threats, proceeded up the river, and erected his house, a little below the mouth of the little river in Windsor. [*Trumbull's Hist. of Connec.* 21.] Attawabut, Sachem of the territory, who had been expelled by Tatobum, was reinstated. Of him the Plymouth

This year it pleased God to visit Plimouth with an infectious fever, of which many fell very sick, and upwards of twenty died, men, women, and children, and sundry of them were of their ancient friends;* amongst the rest, Mr. Samuel Fuller then died, after he had much helped others, and was a comfort to them; he was their surgeon and physician, and did much good in his place, being not only useful in his faculty, but otherwise, as he was a godly man, and served Christ in the office of a deacon in the church for many years, and forward to do good in his place, and was much missed after God removed him out of this world.

This sickness caused much sadness amongst them, and, according to their duty, they besought the Lord by fasting and prayer, and he was entreated of them, and towards winter the sickness ceased. This sickness, being a kind of a pestilent fever, swept away also many of the Indians from many places near adjoining to Plimouth.

It is to be observed, that the spring before this sickness, there was a numerous company of flies, which

people had purchased the land, on which they erected their house. Dr. Trumbull observes, that it is not certain, whether the Dutch at New Netherlands, or the people at New Plymouth, were the first discoverers of the river. But the first purchase of territory, in that region, was by the Plymouth people, the year before the Dutch erected their fort. "The Dutch came in by way of procuration," says Mr. Winslow, in a letter to Governour Winthrop, written in 1643. [See *Appendix P.*]

* One of these "ancient friends," who died at this time, was Mr. Thomas Blount. [Prince II. 96.] Some of his letters from Leyden may be seen in *Ilist. Collections*, Vol. III. On his arrival at Plymouth, he was elected a deacon of the church. [Cotton's *Ilist. of Plymouth Church. Ilist. Coll. IV. 111.*] Mr. Cotton places his death, with that of his associate, Mr. Masterson, before 1630. But Mr. Prince, who quotes Governour Bradford's MS. relative to the sickness of 1633, is probably correct.

were like for bigness unto wasps or bumblebees; they came out of little holes in the ground, and did eat up the green things, and made such a constant yelling noise as made the woods ring of them, and ready to deafen the hearers; they were not any of them heard or seen by the English in the country before this time; but the Indians told them that sickness would follow, and so it did, very hot, in the months of June, July, and August, of that summer.*

This year there arrived in New-England, those three worthy instruments, Mr. John Cotton, Mr. Thomas Hooker, and Mr. Samuel Stone, who were gospel preachers, of excellent worth and use in their places, until God took them out of the world unto himself.

This year likewise, Mr. William Collier arrived with his family in New-England, who, as he had been a good benefactor to the colony of New-Plimouth, before he came over, having been an adventurer unto it at its first beginning, so, also, he approved himself a very useful instrument, in that jurisdiction, after he arrived, being frequently chosen, and for divers years serving God and the country in the place of magistracy, and lived a godly and holy life, until old age, which to him is a crown of glory, being found in the way of righteousness.†

* The insect here described, is the *Cicada septemdecem*, of Linneus, commonly called, the locust. They have frequently appeared since, after long intervals, generally about seventeen years, indicated by the Linnean specific name. They differ essentially from the real locust, which is a species of gryllus. [See Appendix Q.]

† "This year a small glean of rye was brought to the Court, [in Massachusetts,] as the first fruits of English graine, at which the poor people greatly rejoiced, to see the land would bear it." [Johnson's Wond. Work. Prov. 61.]

1634.

THIS year Mr. Thomas Prince was chosen Governour of the jurisdiction of New-Plimouth. His assistants in government were, Mr. William Bradford, Mr. Edward Winslow, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. William Collier, Mr. John Alden, Mr. John Howland, and Mr. Stephen Hopkins.

In the spring of this year there fell a very great sickness of the small-pox amongst the Indians, so as they died most miserably of it; for a sorer disease cannot come amongst them, and they dread it more than the plague itself; for, usually, those of them which have this disease, have them in abundance, and for want of bedding and linen, and other necessities, fall into a lamentable condition; for, as they lie on their hard mats, the pock breaking and running one into another, their skin cleaving by reason thereof to the mats they lie on, when they turn them, much of their skin flays off at once; and they will be all on a gore of blood, most sad and grievous to behold; and then, being very sore, what with cold and other distempers, they die like rotten sheep.*

This year one Capt. Stone, who had sometimes lived at Christophers, in the West Indies, came into these parts; of whom I have nothing to speak in the way of commendation, but rather the contrary. After he had been to and fro in the country, he returned

* According to Governour Winthrop's Journal, the great mortality among the Indians, from the small pox, was in the preceding year. Chickatabut, Sagamore of Neponsett, John, Sagamore of Winesimmet, and James, Sagamore of Lynn, all died with this disease, with a great portion of their people. At Winesimmet, about thirty were buried, by Mr. Maverick, in one day.

towards Virginia with one Captain Norton; and so it was, that, as they returned, they went into Connecticut river, where the Indians killed the said Stone as he lay in his cabin, and threw a covering over him. They likewise killed all the rest of his company, but the said Captain Norton, he defending himself a long time in the cook room of the bark, until, by accident, the gun-powder took fire, which for readiness he had set in an open thing before him, which did so burn and scald him, and blind his eyes, as he could make no longer resistance, but was slain also by them, and they made a prey of his goods.

It is to be observed, that the said Stone, being at the Dutch plantation, in the fore part of this year, a certain bark of Plimouth being there likewise on trading, he kept company with the Dutch Governour, and made him drunk, and got leave of him, in his drunkenness, to take the said bark, without any occasion or cause given him; and so, taking his time when the merchant and some of the chief of the men were on shore, with some of his own men, made the rest of them weigh anchor, and set sail to carry her away to Virginia; but some of the Dutch seamen, who had been at Plimouth and received kindness, seeing this horrible abuse, got a vessel or two and pursued them, and brought them back. After this he came into the Massachusetts-Bay, where they commenced suit against him; but by the mediation of some it was taken up,* and afterwards, in the company of some

* Captain Standish repaired to Boston, to accuse Stone of piracy, and the offender was required to give surety to appear in the Admiralty, in England. "But after," says Gov. Winthrop, "those of Plimouth, being persuaded it would turn

gentlemen, he came to Plimouth, and was kindly entertained; but revenge boiling in his breast, as some conceived, he watched a season to have stabbed the Governour, and put his hand to his dagger for that end, but by God's providence, ordering the vigilance of some that were about him, he was prevented; but God met with him for these and other wickednesses, as hath been before related.*

to their reproach, and that it would be no piracy, we withdrew the cognizance." [Winth. Journ. 50.] Mr. Winthrop mentions some mitigating circumstances, attending this transaction, but none of such description as could bring any just reproach on the Plymouth people. In the same journal, afterward, Stone's depraved character is fully displayed. He was banished from Massachusetts in 1633; and it was in that year, according to Winthrop's Journal, that the affair relative to the Plymouth vessel occurred.

* In the spring of this year was a contest between some of the Plymouth people at Kennebeck, and one Hoskin, or Mooking, who was there in a pinnace belonging to Lord Say and Brook, and was ordered to leave the place, by the Plymouth people, as interfering with their exclusive right by their patent. Hoskin was killed, having first shot Moses Talbot, who was in the Plymouth vessel, commanded by John Mowland, one of the magistrates. In the sixth volume of the Records of Plymouth Colony, is a minute narrative of the transaction. John Alden, another of the magistrates, was also present, and being, soon afterward, at Boston, was obliged by the authority there to find surety, not to depart the jurisdiction of Massachusetts without leave. "This we did," says Governour Winthrop, "that notice might be taken that we did disavow the said action, which was much condemned of all men, and which was feared would give occasion to the King to send a general governour over; and besides, had brought us all, and the gospel, under a common reproach, of cutting one another's throats for heaven." Soon after this occurrence, Mr. Bradford and Mr. Winslow, with Mr. Smith, pastor of the church at Plymouth, had a conference on the subject, at Boston, with Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Cotton, and Mr. Wilson. It was debated whether Plymouth Colony had an exclusive right of trade at Kennebeck, and if they had, whether, "in point of conscience, they might take away, or hazard any man's life, in defence of it." Their right appeared to be good, and it was urged, that Hoskin was the aggressor. The Plymouth conferees, however, acknowledged, "that they did hold themselves under guilt of the sixth commandment, in that they did hazard men's lives for such a cause, and did not rather wait to preserve their right by other means." [Winth. Journ. 64, 68.]

"One pleasant passage," says Gov. Winthrop, "happened, which was acted by the Indians;" and which he refers to the year. "Mr. Winslow, coming to his

1635.

THIS year Mr. William Bradford was chosen Governor of the jurisdiction of New-Plimouth. Mr. Edward Winslow, Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William Collier, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. John Alden, Mr. John Howland, and Mr. Stephen Hopkins, were chosen to be his assistants in government.

This year Mr. Edward Winslow took a voyage for England, on public occasions, and it came to pass that he had occasion to answer some complaints made against the country, at the Council board; more chiefly concerning the Massachusetts jurisdiction, which he did to good effect, and further prosecuted such things as might tend to the good of the whole; in particular, he preferred a petition to the right honourable the Lords commissioners for the plantations in America, in reference unto some injuries done by the French and Dutch unto the country; which petition found good acceptance, and was in a way to a satisfactory answer: But sundry adversaries interposed, whose ends were the subversion and overthrow of the

bark, from Connecticut to Narragansett, and left her there, and intending to return by land, he went to Osamequin, the Sagamore, his old ally, who offered to conduct him to Plimouth; but before they took their journey, Osamequin sent one of his men to Plimouth, to tell them that Mr. Winslow was dead, and directed him to show how and where he was killed; whereupon there was much fear and sorrow at Plimouth. The next day, when Osamequin brought him home, they asked him, why he sent such word, &c. he answered, that it was their manner to do so, that they might be more welcome when they came home." [*Journal* 69.] It would be charitable to suppose, that Squanto's mischievous fiction, which excited so much alarm in 1622, was of this character. Massasoit's deep resentment, on that occasion, is indeed unfavourable to such a conjecture. But in Squanto's representation there was a freedom taken, in respect to his sovereign, which rendered the trick particularly offensive.

churches, at least to disturb their peace, and hinder their growth; but, by God's providence, it so fell out in the end, that although those adversaries crossed the petition from taking any further effect, in the end principally intended in it; yet by this, as a means, the whole plot was discovered, and those adversaries came to nothing. The particulars whereof are too long here to be inserted.*

This year, on Saturday, the fifteenth day of August, was such a mighty storm of wind and rain, as none now living in these parts, either English or Indian, had seen the like; being like unto those hurricanes, or tuffins, that writers mention to be in the Indies. It began in the morning; a little before day, and grew not by degrees, but came with great violence in the beginning, to the great amazement of many. It blew down sundry houses, and uncovered divers others;

* "Mr. Winslow, the late Governour of Plymouth, being this year in England, petitioned the council there for a commission to withstand the intrusions of the French and Dutch, which was likely to take effect, (though undertaken by ill advice, for such precedents might endanger our liberties, that we should do nothing, hereafter, but by a commission out of England,) but the archbishop being incensed against him, as against all these plantations, informed the rest that he was a separatist, &c. and that he did marry, &c. and thereupon got him committed; but, after some few months, he petitioned the board, and was discharged."

[*Winth. Journ.* 89.]

Mr. Winslow, on this mission, was joint agent for Plymouth and Massachusetts. Beside the objects mentioned by Governour Winthrop, the agent was called upon to answer the complaints of their old enemy, *Thomas Morton*, against the Colonies, and to counteract other plans for a general government, which were matured and assiduously urged by Gorges and Mason. Upon his acknowledgment that he had, occasionally, taught publicly in the church, and had officiated in the celebration of marriages, the Archbishop (Laud) pronounced him guilty of separation from the national church, and, "by vehement importunity," says Governour Bradford, "got the board, at last, to consent to his commitment." He was conveyed to the Fleet-prison, and was there confined about seventeen weeks. [*Dutch. Hist. of Mass.* II. *Appendix*, 409. *Bell. Amer. Biog.* II. 301—304 *Plymouth Church Records*, 17.]

divers vessels were lost at sea in it, and many more in extreme danger. It caused the sea to swell in some places to the southward of Plimouth, as that it arose to twenty foot right up and down, and made many of the Indians to climb into trees for their safety. It threw down all the corn to the ground, which never rose more, the which, through the mercy of God, it being near the harvest time, was not lost, though much the worse; and had the wind continued without shifting, in likelihood it would have drowned some part of the country. It blew down many hundred thousands of trees, turning up the stronger by the roots, and breaking the high pine trees, and such like, in the midst; and the tall young oaks, and walnut trees, of good bigness, were wound as a withe by it, very strange and fearful to behold. It began in the south-east, and veered sundry ways, but the greatest force of it, at Plimouth, was from the former quarter; it continued not in extremity above five or six hours before the violence of it began to abate; the marks of it will remain this many years, in those parts where it was sorest. The moon suffered a great eclipse two nights after it.*

* "In the same tempest a bark of Mr. Allerton's was cast away upon Cape- Anne, and twenty-one persons drowned; among the rest one Mr. Avery, a minister in Wiltshire, a godly man, with his wife and six small children, were drowned. None were saved but one Mr. Thatcher and his wife, who were cast on shore and preserved." [Winth. Journ. 85.]

Mr. Thatcher was the uncle of the Rev. Thomas Thatcher, afterward first minister of the Old South Church, in Boston. They arrived in June of this year. The bark above-mentioned, was coming from Newbury, (or Ipswich, according to Dr. Eliot,) to Marblehead, where Mr. Avery was to settle. Mr. Thatcher, the younger, was not on board, but came to Boston by land. The island on which Mr. Thatcher was cast, took the name of Thatcher's Island, which it still retains.

About this time, the Plymouth trading house, at Penobscot, was taken by the French. "They sent away the men which were in it," says Governour Winthrop, "but kept their goods, and gave them bills for them, and bade them tell all the

1636.

THIS year Mr. Edward Winslow was chosen Governor of the jurisdiction of Plymouth; and Mr. William Bradford, Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William Collier, Mr. John Alden, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Mr. John Brown, and Mr. Stephen Hopkins, were chosen to be his assistants in government.

This year the towns on the river of Connecticut began to be planted,* and in transporting of goods

plantations as far as 40°, that they would come with eight ships next year, and displant them all. But by a letter, which the Captain wrote to the Governor of Plymouth, it appeared they had a commission from Mons. Roselle, [Rosillon] commander of the fort near Cape Breton, called Lavre, [La Have—Nova Scotia] to displant the English as far as Pemaquid, and by it they professed all courtesy to us here." [*Journ.* 86.] The Plymouth people made a resolute attempt to regain possession. They hired a large ship, called the *Great Hope*, then at Boston, from England, and despatched her, with a bark of their own, having twenty men on board, to displace the French. The expedition miscarried. The French had notice of the design, and had so fortified the place, that the attempts to retake it were ineffectual. Application was made to Massachusetts for counsel and assistance. Commissioners from the two colonies met at Boston, to confer on the subject. Plymouth insisted, that the expulsion of the French should become a common cause of the whole country. "We refused to deal in it," says Governor Winthrop, "otherwise than as their aid, and so at their charge." There seems such a departure from a magnanimous policy, in this instance, among the statesmen of the Bay, that their apology ought not to be omitted. "Indeed," adds Governor Winthrop, "we had no money in the Treasury, neither could we get provisions of victuals, on the sudden, for one hundred men, which were to be employed, so we deferred all to further counsel." Plymouth Colony was too feeble to persevere in the enterprise alone, and it was accordingly abandoned. Penobscot was recovered in 1654, by a small squadron, despatched by Cromwell, aided by some troops from Massachusetts; but it does not appear that Plymouth ever regained her old establishment in that country.

* "Mr. Hooker, pastor of the church at Newtown, and the rest of his congregation, went to Connecticut; his wife was carried in a horse-litter; and they took 160 cattle, and fed of their milk by the way." [*Win. Journ.* 101.] This was in the month of June. There was a previous emigration, in 1635, from Dorchester and Watertown. Hartford was settled by the company from Newtown. The Watertown people seated themselves at Wethersfield. Those from Dorchester so-

thither, from the Massachusetts Bay, two shallops were cast away, loaded with goods to go thither, in an easterly storm, at the mouth of Plimouth harbour; the boat's men were all lost, not so much as any of their bodies found for burial, they being five in number in both the boats. The principal of them was one Mr. William Cooper, an ancient seaman, of known skill, having formerly been master of a ship, and had gone great voyages to the East-Indies, and to other parts; but the night being dark and stormy, they ran upon a skirt of a flat that lieth near the mouth of the harbour, and so were over-raked; the goods came on shore along the harbour, and the Governour caused a careful course to be taken for the preservation of them, in the behalf of the right owners, who afterwards received so many of them as were saved.*

located a place near the Plymouth trading house, afterward called Windsor. [*Trumb. Hist. of Conn. I. chap. 4.*] The Plymouth people were dissatisfied with the intrusion on their location. Mr. Winslow was at Boston on this subject in the spring of 1636. He demanded of the Dorchester people one sixteenth part of their lands, and one hundred pounds, which was refused. "But divers resolved to quit the place," says Governour Winthrop, "if they could not agree with those of Plimouth." Some time afterward, "the freeholders of Windsor gave them fifty pounds, forty acres of meadow, and a large tract of upland, for their satisfaction." [*Trumb. I. 56.*] Dr. Trumbull quotes Governour Wolcott's manuscripts relative to this act of retribution. It is gratifying to find evidence of the fact, but it is doubtful whether the gift was satisfactory. The remark in the Memorial, (p. 172) of being "thrust out by friends," which was probably penned by Governour Bradford, and which Secretary Morton did not choose to suppress, manifests a sense of injury, of which, also, there are several expressions in Mr. Winslow's correspondence.

* See Winthrop's Journal, p. 87, which dates this disaster, October 1635. "The shallops were cast away," says Mr. Winthrop, "on Brown's Island, near the Gurnett's Nose." Connecting this account with the description of the place, in the Memorial, there will appear no foundation for the supposition sometimes advanced, that *Brown's Island* was above water, at the first settlement of Plymouth. One of the two islands, therefore, mentioned in the note, page 48, must have reference to *Saquish*, or the *Gurnett*, or both, as they are connected by a beach.

Now followeth the tragedy of the war that fell betwixt the English and the Pequots, which I will relate according to my best intelligence; in order whereunto I thought good to mention some particulars first, that by discerning the whole matter, in the several parts and circumstances, the more of the mercy and goodness of God may be taken notice of to his praise, for destroying so proud and blasphemous an enemy.

In the year 1634, the Pequots, a stout and warlike people, who had made war with sundry of their neighbours, and being puffed up with many victories, grew now at variance with the Narragansets, a great people bordering upon them. These Narragansets held correspondence and terms of friendship with the English of the Massachusetts. Now the Pequots being conscious of the guilt of Captain Stone's death, whom they knew to be an Englishman, as also those that were with him, and being fallen out with the Dutch, lest they should have over many enemies at once, sought to make friendship with the English of the Massachusetts, and for that end, sent both messengers and gifts unto them, as appears by some letters sent from the Governour of the Massachusetts to the Governour of Plimouth, as followeth:

Dear and worthy Sir,

To let you know something of our affairs, you may understand that the Pequots have sent some of theirs to us, to desire our friendship, and offered much wampum and beaver, &c. The first messengers were dismissed without answer; with the next we had divers days conference, and taking the advice of some of our

ministers, and seeking the Lord in it, we concluded a peace and friendship with them, upon these conditions, That they should deliver up to us those men who were guilty of Stone's death, &c. and, if we desired to plant in Connecticut, they should give up their right to us, and we would send to trade with them as our friends, which was the chief thing we aimed at, they being now at war with the Dutch, and the rest of their neighbours. To this they readily agreed; and that we should mediate a peace between them and the Narragansets, for which end they were content we should give the Narragansets part of the present they would bestow on us; for they stood so much on their honour, as they would not be seen to give any thing of themselves. As for Captain Stone, they told us there were but two left of those who had any hand in his death, and that they killed him in a just quarrel; for, said they, he surprised two of our men, and bound them, to make them by force to shew him the way up the river, and he, with two others, coming on shore, nine Indians watched them, and when they were asleep in the night, they killed them, to deliver their own men; and some of them, going afterwards to the bark, it was suddenly blown up. We are now preparing a bark to send unto them.*

Yours, ever assured,

JOHN WINTHROP.*

Boston, March 12, 1634.

* And in another letter he saith, "our bark is lately returned from the Pequots, and our men put off but little commodities, and found them to be a very false people, so as we mean to have no more to do with them." M.

† The treaty with the Pequots was made at Boston, in November 1634; a full account of the negotiation is given in Winthrop's Journal, p. 74. 75. Governor

Not long after these things, Mr. John Oldham, of ^{ham} whom much is spoken before, being now an inhabitant of the Massachusetts, went, with a small vessel, and slenderly manned, on trading on those south parts; and, upon a quarrel between him and the Indians, was cut off by them, in such manner as hath been forenoted,* at an island, called by the Indians, Manisses, by the English, Block-Island.† This, with the former, about the death of Stone, and the baffling of the Pequots with the English of the Massachusetts, moved them to take revenge, and to require satisfaction for these wrongs; but it took little effect; some of the murderers of Mr. Oldham fled to the Pequots, and although the English went to the Pequots, and had some parly with them, yet they did but delude them; and the English returned without doing any

Winthrop's letter was written in March following; the year at that time commencing on the 25th of March.

* See p. 122.

† Mr. Oldham was murdered in August, 1636. [*Winth. Journ.* 102.] "We found," says Governour Winthrop, "that all the Sachems of the Narragansett, except Canonius and Miantonimoh, were the contrivers of Mr. Oldham's death; and the occasion was, because he went to make peace, and trade with the Pekods last year." Lieutenant Edward Gibbons and John Higginson, (chaplain at Saybrook fort) with Cutshamokin, the Sagamore of Massachusetts, were sent to Canonius, "to treat with him about the murder of John Oldham." [*Winth. Journ.* 104.] "They arriving, were entertained royally, with respect to the Indian manner. Boiled chesnuts is their white-bread, and because they would be extraordinary in their feasting, they strove for variety after the English manner, boiling puddings made of beaten corn, putting therein great store of blackberries, somewhat like currants. They, having thus nobly feasted them, afterward gave them audience, in a state house, round, about fifty feet wide, made of long poles stuck in the ground, like your summer houses in England, and covered round about, and on the top, with mats, &c." [*Wond. Work. Prov.* 109.] "They observed in the Sachem much state, great command over his men, and marvellous wisdom in his answers; and, [the] carriage of the whole treaty, clearing himself and his neighbours of the murder, and offering assistance for revenge of it, yet upon a very safe and wary conditions."

[*Winth. Journ.* 104, 107.]

thing to purpose, being frustrated of their opportunity by their deceit. After the English of the Massachusetts were returned, the Pequots took their time and opportunity to cut off some of the English at Connecticut, as they passed up and down upon their occasions; and tortured some of them, in putting them to death, in the most barbarous manner, and most blasphemously, in this their cruelty, bade them call upon their God, or mocked and derided them when they so did; and, not long after, assaulted them at their houses and habitations, as will appear more fully in the ensuing relation.*

1687.

In the fore part of this year, the Pequots fell openly upon the English at Connecticut, in the lower parts of the river, and slew sundry of them, as they were at work in the fields, both men and women, to the great terrour of the rest; and went away in great pride and triumph with many threats. They also assaulted Saybrook fort, at the mouth of the river of Connecticut, although it was strong and well defended. It struck them with much fear and astonishment, to see their bold attempts in the face of danger, which made them in all places to stand upon their guard, and to prepare for resistance, and earnestly to solicit

* There was an ill-conducted expedition from Massachusetts, commanded by Endicot, in the autumn of 1636, to Block Island, and to the Pequot country, of which Plymouth and Connecticut complained, that it only tended to irritate the Pequots, and to render them more insolent. Johnson calls it a "bootless voyage," though its avowed object was death to all the male inhabitants of Block Island, and heavy contributions on the Pequots. [*Wend. Work. Press.* 111. *Winth. Journ.* 105, 110, 123.]

their friends and confederates in the Massachusetts Bay, to send them speedy aid, for they looked for more forcible assaults. Mr. Vane, being then Governour of that jurisdiction, writ from their General Court to the Governour and Court of New-Plimouth, to join with them in this war, to which they were cordially willing. In the mean time, before things could be prepared for to set out, the Pequots, as they had done the winter before, sought to make peace with the Narragansetts, and used many pernicious arguments to move them thereunto, as that the English were strangers, and began to overspread their country, and would deprive them thereof in time, if they were suffered to grow and increase; and if the Narragansetts did assist the English to subdue them, that did but make way for their own overthrow; for if they were rooted out, the English would soon take occasion to subjugate them; and if they would hearken to them, they should not need to fear the strength of the English; for they would not come to open battle with them, but fire their houses, kill their cattle, and lie in ambush for them, as they went abroad upon their occasions, and all this they might easily do with little danger to themselves. The which course being held, they well saw the English would not long subsist, but they would either be starved with hunger or forced to forsake the country; with many like things, inasmuch that the Narragansetts were once wavering, and were half minded to have made peace with them,* and joined

* "Machiavel himself," says Mr. Hubbard, "if he had sat in council with them, could not have insinuated stronger reasons to have persuaded them to a peace."

[*Indian Wars*. 181.]

against the English; but again when they considered how much wrong they had received from the Pequots, and what an opportunity they had now, by helping the English, to right themselves, revenge was so sweet to them, as it prevailed above all the rest; so as they resolved to join with the English against them, and so did. The Court of Plymouth agreed to find fifty men at their own charge, and with as much speed as possible they could get them in readiness, under sufficient leaders, and provided a bark to carry their provisions, and to tend upon them on all occasions, and when they were ready to march with a supply from the bay, they had word sent them to stay, for the enemy was as good as vanquished and there would be no need.

I shall not take upon me exactly to describe their proceedings in this war, because possibly it hath been done by themselves that were actors therein, and best knew the circumstances of things, I shall therefore set them down in the main and general, according to my best intelligence.

From Connecticut, who were most sensible of the hurt sustained, and the present danger, they set out a party of men, and another party met them from the Massachusetts Bay, at the Narragansetts, who were to join them. The Narragansetts were very earnest to be gone, before the English were well rested and refreshed, especially some of them which came last. It should seem their desire was come upon the enemy suddenly and unexpectedly. There being a bark of Plymouth newly put in there, which was come from Connecticut, they did encourage them to lay hold of the opportunity of the Indians forwardness, and to

show as great forwardness as they, for it would encourage them, and expedition might turn to their great advantage. So they went on, and so ordered their march, as the Indians brought them to the fort of their enemy,* in which most of their chief men were, before day; they approached the same with great silence; and surrounded it both with English and Indians, that they might not break out, and so assaulted them with great courage, shooting among them, and entered the fort with great speed; and those that first entered found sharp resistance from the enemy, who both shot and grappled with them; others ran into their houses, and brought out fire and set them on fire, which soon took in their mats, and their houses standing close together, with the wind all was soon on a flame, and thereby more were burnt to death than were otherwise slain. It burnt their bow-strings, and made them unserviceable. Those that escaped the fire were slain with the sword; some hewed to pieces, some run through with their rapiers, so as they were quickly dispatched and very few escaped. The number they thus destroyed: was conceived to be above four hundred. At this time it was a fearful sight to see them thus frying in the fire, and the streams of blood quenching the same; and horrible was the stink and scent thereof; but the victory seemed a sweet sacrifice, and they gave the praise thereof to God, who had wrought so wonderfully for them, thus to enclose their enemies in their hands, and give them so speedy

* Mistie Fort, near a river of that name, in the county of New London, a few miles east of Fort Griswold.

a victory over so proud, insulting and blasphemous an enemy. The Narragansetts, all this while, stood round about aloof, off from all danger, and left the whole execution to the English, except it were the stopping any that brake away, insulting over their enemies in their ruins and misery, when they saw them dancing in the fire; calling by a word in their own language, signifying *O brave Pequots!* which they used familiarly amongst themselves in their own praises, in songs of triumphs after their victories.

After this service was thus happily accomplished, the English marched to the water side, where they met with some of their vessels, by whom they were refreshed and supplied with victuals and other necessities; but in their march, the rest of the Pequots drew into a body, and followed them, thinking to have some advantage against them by reason of a neck of land; but when they saw the English prepare for them, they kept aloof, so as they neither did hurt nor would receive any. And after the English their refreshing and repairing together for further counsel and directions, they resolved to pursue their victory, and follow the war against the rest; but the Narragansetts most of them forsook them, and such of them as they had with them for guides or otherwise, they found very cold or backward in the business, either out of envy, or that they thought the English would make more profit of the victory than they were willing they should, or else deprive them of that advantage that they desired in making the Pequots become tributaries unto them, or the like.

For the rest of this tragedy, I shall only relate the same as in a letter from Mr. Winthrop to Mr. Bradford, as followeth:

Worthy Sir,

I RECEIVED your loving letter, but straightness of time forbids me, for my desire is to acquaint you with the Lord's great mercy towards us, in our prevailing against his and our enemies, that you may rejoice and praise his name with us. About fourscore of our men, having coasted along towards the Dutch Plantation, sometimes by water but most by land, met here and there, with some Pequots, whom they slew or took prisoners. Two Sachems they took and beheaded;* and not hearing of Sasacus, the chief Sachem, they gave a prisoner his life to go and find him out; he went and brought them word where he was; but Sasacus suspecting him to be a spy, after he was gone, fled away with some twenty more to the Mohawks, so our men missed of him; yet dividing themselves, and ranging up and down as the providence of God guided them, for the Indians were all gone, save three or four, and they knew not whither to guide them, or else would not; upon the thirteenth of this month, they lighted upon a great company, viz. eighty strong men, and two hundred women and children, in a small Indian town, fast by a hideous swamp,† which they all slipped into, before our men could get to them.

Our Captains were not then come together; but there was Mr. Ludlow and Captain Mason, with

* At Guilford.

† In Fairfield.

some ten of their men, and Captain Patrick, with some twenty or more of his, who, shooting at the Indians, Captain Trask, with fifty more, came soon in at the noise. Then they gave order to surround the swamp, it being about a mile round; but Lieutenant Davenport, and some twelve more, not hearing that command, fell into the swamp amongst the Indians. The swamp was so thick with shrubs, and boggy withal, that some stuck fast, and received many shot.

Lieutenant Davenport was dangerously wounded about his arm-hole, and another shot in the head, so as fainting, they were in great danger to have been taken by the Indians; but sergeant Riggs and sergeant Jeffery, and two or three more, rescued them, and slew divers of the Indians with their swords. After they were drawn out, the Indians desired parley, and were offered by Thomas Stanton, our interpreter, that if they would come out and yield themselves, they should have their lives that had not their hand in the English blood. Whereupon the Sachem of the place came forth, and an old man or two, and their wives and children, and so they spake two hours, till it was night. Then Thomas Stanton was sent to them again, to call them forth, but they said they would sell their lives there; and so shot at him so thick, as, if he had not been presently relieved and rescued, on his crying out, they would have slain him.

Then our men cut off a place of swamp with their swords, and cooped up the Indians into a narrow compass, so as they could easier kill them through the thickets. So they continued all the night, standing about twelve foot one from another, and the Indians coming up close to our men, shot their arrows so

thick, as they pierced their hat-brims, and their sleeves and stockings, and other parts of their clothes; yet so miraculously did the Lord preserve them, as not one of them was wounded, save those three who rashly went into the swamp as aforesaid. When it was near day it grew very dark, so as those of them that were left, dropped away, though they stood but twelve or fourteen foot asunder, and were presently discovered, and some killed in the pursuit. In the searching of the swamp the next morning, they found nine slain, and some they pulled up, whom the Indians had buried in the mire; so as they do think that of all this company not twenty did escape, for they afterwards found some who died in the flight, of their wounds received. The prisoners were divided, some to those of the river, and the rest to us of these parts. We send the male children to Bermuda, by Mr. William Pierce, and the women and maid children are disposed about in the towns. There have been now slain and taken in all, about seven hundred, the rest are dispersed, and the Indians, in all quarters, so terrified, as all their friends are afraid to receive them. Two of the Sachems of Long-Island came to Mr. Stoughton, and tendered themselves to be under our protection; and two of the Nepannet Sachems have been with me to seek our friendship. Among the prisoners we have the wife and children of Mononotto, a woman of a very modest countenance and behaviour. It was by her mediation, that the two English maids* were spared from death, and were kindly used by her. One of her first requests was, that the English would not abuse her

* Made captives at Wethersfield, April, 1637.

body, and that her children might not be taken from her. Those which were wounded we fetched soon off, by John Gallop, who came with his boat in a happy hour, to bring them victuals, and to carry their wounded men to the barque, where our chief surgeon was, with Mr. Wilson, being about eight leagues off. Our people are all in health, the Lord be praised. And although they had marched in their arms all the day, and had been in fight all the night, yet they professed they found themselves so, as they could willingly have gone to such another business. The Captains report we have slain thirteen Sachems, but Sasacus and Mononotto are still living. This is the substance of what I have received, though I am forced to omit many considerable circumstances. So being in much straightness of time, the ships being to depart within this four days, and in them the Lord Lee and Mr. Vane; I here break off, and with hearty salutation, &c. I rest Your assured friend,

JOHN WINTHROP.

July 28, 1637.

To conclude the discourse of this matter, this Sasacus the Pequot Sachem, being fled to the Mohawks, they cut off his head, and some other of the chief of them, whether to satisfy the English, or rather the Narragansetts, who as I heard hired them to do it, or for their own advantage, I know not.

And thus this war took end; the body of this people were wholly subdued, and their country taken from them, and such of its inhabitants as had escaped the heat of our revenge, by fire and sword, being nevertheless at the dispose of the conquerors, whereby the

English, appointed some to the Narragansetts and some to the Monhegans, under Unkas their Sachem, who had been faithful and serviceable to them in this war; yet the Narragansetts were not pleased that themselves had not the sole government of the captives, and have since been continually quarrelling with the Monheags, and have sometimes been plotting against the English also; but to conclude, the Pequots have since been taken under the immediate government of the English colonies, and live in their own country, being governed by such of their own, as are by the English substituted and appointed for that purpose.*

* The Pequots were the most warlike tribe in New-England. Their territory is now occupied by the towns of New London, Groton, and Stonington. On the north it was separated, by a dubious line, from the Mohegan country. Sassacus, the chief Sachem, whose name was terrible to all the neighbouring tribes, resided in a strong fortress, on a commanding eminence, between Pequot harbour, [New London,] and Mistie River. It was one object of the expedition to destroy this establishment; but circumstances rendered it more prudent and practicable, first to attack the fort on the Mistie. The troops sailed from Hartford on the 10th of May, commanded by Capt. John Mason, an experienced soldier, who had served in the Netherlands. The Rev. Mr. Stone accompanied the expedition as Chaplain. The attack on the fort was made on the 26th of May, about two hours before day light. "Under the divine conduct," says Dr. Trumbull, "by seventy seven brave men, Connecticut was saved, and the most warlike and terrible Indian nation in New-England, defeated and ruined." A body of Indians, Mohegans, Nianticks and Narragansetts joined the English, but were so intimidated, excepting the Mohegans, as they approached the fort, that they were of little service. Capt. Patrick, who was despatched from Massachusetts with forty men, did not arrive on the ground until after the action; but Capt. Underhill with twenty men from Massachusetts, part of the garrison at Saybrook, had the honour of participating in the memorable conflict. In about three weeks from the embarkation at Hartford, the conquerors returned to their habitations. Of the assailants only two men were killed, and about twenty wounded; between five and six hundred Indians perished by the sword or in the flames, and seventy wigwams were consumed. Plymouth Colony, at first, manifested an unwillingness to afford the aid which was requested. Their objections are thus stated by Mr. Winthrop, then deputy Governour of Massachusetts, as received from Mr. Winslow, who was at Boston, early in May, on the business. 1. "Our refusal to aid them against

This year Mr. William Bradford was chosen Governour of the jurisdiction of New Plimouth; and Mr.

the French. 2. Our people's trading at Kennebeck. 3. The injury offered to them at Connecticut by those of Windsor in taking away their land. 4. Their own poverty and our ability, which needed not any help from them." [*Winth. Journ.* 124.] These objections were well answered on the part of Massachusetts, and Plymouth government appears to have made cordial exertions to send their proportionate aid; "their non-appearance," says Mr. Hubbard, "being not to be imputed to any backwardness in their minds, but to their too late invitation to the service; the motion fetching a large compass from Connecticut down to the Massachusetts, from which last place they were solicited thereunto." An account of the Pequot war was written by Major Mason, and another by Mr. John Allyn, Secretary of the Colony of Connecticut. The first is partly copied by Hubbard in his Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians, and Mr. Allyn's History is given by Dr. Increase Mather in his Relation published in 1677. The materials, relative to this interesting portion of New-England History, are ably condensed by Dr. Trumbull in the fifth chapter of his History of Connecticut. There is a perspicuity and lucid order in his narrative, not to be found in the ancient writers who have been mentioned.

The war was vigorously prosecuted after the exploit, at Mistie, by another corps, of about forty men, from Connecticut, commanded by Capt. Mason, and one hundred and twenty from Massachusetts, under Capt. Israel Stoughton, who was accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Wilson, as chaplain. Mr. Ludlow and other principal gentlemen of Connecticut also joined the army. Gov. Winthrop's letter, given at large in the Memorial, has reference to this stage of the contest.

In this fearful struggle, which it is just to remark, appears to have been inevitable, vengeance was, in some instances, carried to a barbarous extreme, too nearly approaching to savage ferocity. The atrocities of the enemy strongly excited the angry passions, which were frequently expressed, with unbecoming intemperance, by the cotemporary writers. There are few, at this day, however partial to the Fathers of New-England, who will not feel and acknowledge an accordance with the sentiments expressed by the Rev. Dr. Holmes on this subject; and approve the appropriate effusion, which he has selected from Dr. Dwight's beautiful poem. "However just the occasion of this war, humanity demands a tear on the extinction of a valiant tribe, which preferred death to what it might naturally anticipate from the progress of the English settlements—dependence or extirpation."

[*American Annals* I, 297.]

"Indulge, my native land! indulge the tear,
That steals, impassion'd, o'er a nation's doom;
To me each twig from Adam's stock is near,
And sorrows fall upon an Indian's tomb."

[*Greenfield Hill*.]

In Gov. Roger Wolcott's narrative in rhyme, of Gov. Winthrop's agency to the Court of King Charles II, the Destruction of the Pequots is faithfully detailed.

[*See Hist. Coll. IV, 273—293.*]

Edward Winslow, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Mr. William Collier, Mr. Thomas Prince, Capt. Miles Standish, and Mr. John Jenny, were chosen to be his assistants in government.

This year Mr. Theophilus Eaton and Mr. John Davenport, accompanied with divers other Christians of special eminency, began the fourth of the united colonies in New-England called New-Haven,* where they erected a church of Christ, which continue in gospel order until this day, in an amiable and exemplary manner; notwithstanding they have met with divers losses and crosses, both of eminent and useful instruments, as also of a great part of their estates, as in special by the loss of Mr. Lamberton's ship.† Of which said plantation and colony, I have little to insert, for want of more full and certain intelligence.‡

* Called by the Dutch *Roeobert*, and by the Indians *Quinnapiuk*. M.

† In 1646, the people at Newhaven, who had brought considerable property from England, finding their estates rapidly declining, made great exertions to retrieve their affairs. A ship of 150 tons was built at Rhode-Island, by their united contributions, and freighted for England. Mr. *Lamberton*, and several others, of their principal men embarked in her. The ship sailed from New-Haven in Jan. 1647, and was never heard of afterward. [*Trumbull's Hist. of Conn.* 164.] "In her were lost," says Dr. Mather, "not only the hopes of their future trade, but also the lives of several excellent persons, as well as divers manuscripts of some great men in the country sent over for the service of the Church."

[*Magnal.* I, 25.

‡ The Colony of New-Haven was united to Connecticut, by the Charter obtained from Charles II, in 1662, but the union, by voluntary consent, was not effected until May 1665. The annexation by the Charter had the private concurrence, says Dr. C. Mather, of some leading men, "though the minds of others," he adds, "were so uneasy about the Coalition, that it cost some time, after the arrival of the Charter, for the Colony, like Jephthah's daughter, to bewail her condition, before it could be quietly complied withal." [*Magnal.* I, 26.] Secretary Morton places the settlement of New-Haven one year too early. Mr. Davenport arrived there in April, 1638. The country was, indeed, explored by some of the associates, and that place selected for settlement, in 1637.

About this time there arose great troubles in the country, especially at Boston, by the breathing of antinomian and familistical opinions; the chief sect-leader thereof was one Mrs. Hutchinson. These carried on their abominable tenets, with such subtilty, under a pretence of advancing free grace, and crying up the covenant of grace, and down the covenant of works; as they took away, by their assertions, grace from the covenant; yea, so close was this mystery of iniquity carried on, as that some of the prudentest of the orthodox party, could not discern it at the first; but at length, the folly of those that were principal therein was made manifest unto all men. The evil consequences thereof faced very sadly, so as it influenced into their civil state, and caused great disturbance; but by God's blessing on the improvement of the faithful endeavours of his servants, the messengers of the churches, who were called together as a synod to help in the case; together with the prudence and industry of sundry principal ones amongst them, both in church and state at other times, a right understanding of some few things, in difference amongst the sincere and godly, was procured.* The ring-leaders of

* Dr. Mather in his *Prælia Ecclesiarum*, calls the difficulties excited by Mr. Williams, *Little Foxes*; the chapter, devoted to the history of the Antinomian storm, he has intitled, *Hydra decapitata*, referring to the healing interposition or overpowering influence of the first Synod. In Winthrop's Journal, Mather's Magnalia, Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, Mr. Callender's Historical Discourse, Dr. Elliot's Ecclesiastical History of Massachusetts, and in many other publications, may be found a full account of those subtle and perplexing controversies which agitated the Church and State on that occasion. The contention, says Dr. Mather, spread itself into families, and from thence into all the general affairs of the publick. The expedition against the Pequots, he observes, "was most shamefully discouraged, because the army was too much under a covenant of works." The questions, says Dr. Mather, were about the order of things in

the faction being thus detected were censured, not only by the church, but by the civil power, and were also condemned to exile;* who, not knowing where

our union with our Lord Jesus Christ; about the influence of our faith in the application of his righteousness; about the use of our sanctification, in evidencing of our justification; and about the consideration of the Lord Jesus Christ by men yet under a covenant of works. There was also a question whether the Holy Ghost dwells personally in a justified person, which was asserted by Mrs. Hutchinson and her adherents. "The town and country," says Gov. Hutchinson, "was distracted with these subtleties, and every man and woman, who had brains enough to form some imperfect conception, inferred and maintained some other point, such as these; *A man is justified before he believes—faith is no immediate cause of justification—assurance is by immediate revelation only.* The fear of God, and love of our neighbour, seemed to be laid by and out of the question." Mr. Cotton was considered as favouring the new opinions, or those who maintained them. The Church at Boston, excepting four or five, manifested a similar bias. Governour Vane was also on that side. Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Dudley, Mr. Wilson, and most of the ministers in the country, were in the opposition. Dr. Trumbull remarks that the antinomian controversy and sentiments, which had taken such root at Boston, were exceedingly disagreeable to Mr. Davenport, and the principal gentlemen of his company, who arrived there about that time, and created an inducement to seek a place of settlement remote from such disorder.

* Many of the principal inhabitants of Boston removed. Coddington and Dummer had been assistants. Hutchinson, Aspinwall and Coggeshall representatives. Rainsford, Sanford, Savage, Eliot, Easton, Bedford and Denison, were all persons of distinction. /en

[Hutchins. Hist. of Mass. I, 73.]

Mrs. Hutchinson, after the death of her husband, in 1642, removed into the territory occupied by the Dutch, beyond New-Haven, and soon afterward was killed by the Indians, with all her family, excepting one daughter, who was carried into captivity. The greater part of the banished persons were permitted to return, and were restored to their former privileges. Gov. Hutchinson remarks, that they were probably condemned for opinions which they had not really maintained, or which had no practical influence. "Many of them," he adds, "were afterwards employed in posts of honour and trust, were exemplary in their lives and conversations; and their letters and private papers shew that they were pious and devout, and, with the name of antinomians, paid the strictest regard to moral virtue." It is observed by the Baroness Stael Holstein, that "the cultivation of all pure and elevated sentiments is so consolidated in England, by political and religious institutions, that the scepticisms of genius revolve around those imposing columns without ever shaking them." [Germany II. 119.] The remark is applicable to other subtle speculations, and in the present state of society, is this country, as well as in England, though our columns may be less imposing,

they might sit down safely, made requests unto the government of Plimouth, that they might be at an island, that they had not hitherto improved, called by the Indians Aquetnet, and, by the English inhabiting it, Rhode-Island, which the government of Plimouth, aforesaid, considering they were their countrymen and fellow subjects that were thus distressed and destitute of habitation, although they had their errors in as great dislike as those from whence they came, yet pitying them in their present straits, granted their request; so these, having there seated themselves, and finding that it was a very fruitful and pleasant place, such indeed as that colony or jurisdiction hath not any the like left within their patent, they soon drew many more unto them, not only to fill up that island,

the application of such harsh remedies, as were adopted to repress the antinomian and familistical delusion cannot be required. But in the infant state of a Society, just taking a separate stand, as non-conformists, wild and fantastical doctrines occasioned peculiar alarm, and there was a constant solicitude, among the considerate leaders of the New-England establishments, to avoid an opprobrium which their anti-puritanic antagonists had frequently predicted.

Sir Walter Raleigh, in his History of the world, expresses an apprehension, "that time would soon bring it to pass, if it were not resisted, that God would be turned out of Churches into barns, and from thence again into the fields, and mountains, and under hedges, and the offices of the ministry, robbed of all dignity and respect, be as contemptible as those places; all order, discipline, and church government left to newness of opinion, and men's fancies, yea, and soon after as many kinds of religion spring up, as there are parish churches in England; every contentious and ignorant person, clothing his fancy with the spirit of God, and his imagination with the gift of revelation; inasmuch as when the truth, which is but one, shall appear to the simple multitude, no less variable than contrary to itself, the faith of men will soon die away by degrees, and all religion be held in scorn and contempt." It must have been the uniform aim of reformers to avoid and defeat such imputations, and with such views, as well as from a strong sensibility for what they considered as undoubted truth, the political and ecclesiastical leaders in the first settlement of New-England, were extremely hostile to any innovations, or eccentric opinions.

but have also seated two more towns on the main;* therein, as is judged, encroaching upon the rights of the aforesaid colony of Plimouth, and have of late through misinformation obtained a patent, not only for the places fore-mentioned, but have also extended it into the heart and bowels of the known and possessed rights of the said colony, endeavouring to requite their kindness, as sometimes it is said the hedge hog did by the friendly coney. But it is our great happiness, that as God takes notice from on high of the unrighteousness and oppression of the sons of men, so he hath given us a gracious Prince, who minds the peace of his meanest subjects; from whose justice and prudence we do confidently expect relief, and on that assurance, do resolve, by God's help, to contain ourselves from seeking to vindicate our wrongs in such a way as their injurious dealings might provoke unto.†

* By the two towns mentioned in the text, the settlements at Providence and Shawamet, or Warwick, are supposed to be intended. When application was made from Rhode Island, in 1648, to be received into the confederation of the United Colonies of New England, they were refused by the Commissioners, on the ground that the plantations of that Colony, were within the Plymouth patent. It would appear, however, that the Island, Aquedneck, was occupied with the advice and consent of Plymouth; [*Callend. Hist. Disc.* 50,] and this seems to be admitted by Secretary Morton.

† The patent, mentioned in the text, is supposed to be that obtained by Roger Williams, by the assistance of Sir Henry Vane, in 1643, of the Earl of Warwick and others, Admiral and Commissioners of the plantations in America. The expectations of future redress which the Memorial expresses, were never realized. In 1663, the Colony of Rhode Island obtained a Charter from Charles II. The boundaries precluded, altogether, the old claims of Plymouth Colony, and were so expressed, that after the union of Plymouth with Massachusetts, when the line was settled between Massachusetts and Rhode Island, (1741) by Commissioners appointed for that purpose, the towns of Bristol, Tiverton and Little Compton, and great part of Swansey and Barrington were made part of Rhode Island. The territory thus separated from Massachusetts, was conquered by the

This year there was a hideous monster born at Boston, in New-England, of one Mrs. Mary Dyer, a co-partner with the said Mrs. Hutchinson, in the aforesaid heresies; the said monster, as it was related to me, was without head, but horns like a beast, scales or a rough skin like the fish, called the thorn-back; it had legs and claws like a fowl, and in other respects as a woman child; the Lord declaring his detestation of their monstrous errors, as was then thought by some, by this prodigious birth.*

Not long before these troubles, there arrived at Boston, one Samuel Gorton, who from thence came to Plimouth; and upon his first coming thither, gave some hopes that he would have proved an useful instrument, but soon after, by little and little, discovered himself to be a proud and pestilent seducer, and deeply leavened with blasphemous and familistical opinions; and observing such fictions to be spread by some of his spirit already in the country, he takes his opportunity to begin to sow such seed at Plimouth, whereby some were seduced, in special one John Weeks and his wife, who in some short time became very atheists, looking for no more happiness than this world affords, not only in practice such, but also in opinion. But the said Gorton falling into some controversy with one Mr. Ralph Smith, was summoned to the court held at Plimouth, the fourth of Decem-

Colony and Plymouth from Philip, and was granted to Plymouth by Charles II. [*Hutch. Hist. Mass. II, 358.*] For the patent and Charter to Rhode Island: see Hazard's Collections, I, 538; II, 612.

* Secretary Morton has the comparative merit of being brief and indecisive upon this subject. Other writers, of superior acquirements, enlarge upon the topic with pitiable credulity and disgusting particularity.

ber, 1688, to answer the said Mr. Smith's complaint; and there he carried so routinely and seditiously, as that he was for the same, and for his turbulent carriages towards both magistrates and ministers, in the presence of the court, sentenced to find sureties for his good behaviour, during the time he should stay in the jurisdiction, which was limited to fourteen days, and also amerced to pay a considerable fine. In some short time after he departed to Rhode-Island, and in like manner, or worse, demeaned himself there, so as they were forced to sentence him to suffer corporal punishment by whipping, and they banished him likewise off the island. And from thence, he, with divers of his accomplices, went to Providence, and there he and they carried so in outrage and riotously, as they were in danger to have caused bloodshed, so as the inhabitants, some of them, viz. Mr. Roger Williams and others, were constrained to solicit the government of the Massachusetts for aid, to help them against their insolencies; and for that end some of them desired to come under their jurisdiction, and were accepted. Moreover, several of the poor neighboring natives were so injuriously wronged by the said Gorton and his company, they seeking to bereave them of their just rights of land by surreptitious ways; in special, Ponham and Sokanoko, two petty Sachems living not far off from Providence,* who were bereaved of their just rights in lands, by improving the tyranny

* The answer of Mr. E. Winslow to Gorton's pamphlet, entitled, *Simplicity's defence against the seven-headed policy*, will give the reader a full and particular intelligence concerning all the transactions of those matters, and likewise of their damnable errors. M.

of Miantonimok, the then chief Sachem of the Narragansets, for the procuring thereof, which necessitated the said under Sachems to make their appeal to the court of the Massachusetts for help in their oppressed condition, subjecting themselves and their lands unto their jurisdiction likewise; which caused the said government to require their appearance at Boston, to answer the complaints of those oppressed English and Indians.* But notwithstanding they several times sent to them, with all gentleness and courteous expressions, they neither appeared, nor sent satisfying reasons for their absence; but in stead thereof, many insolent, proud, railing, opprobrious returns; so that the said government saw there was no remedy, but to send force to constrain them to come; which they accordingly performed, and committed the said Gorton and several of them to ward: And during the time of their imprisonment, they carried still very proudly and audaciously towards all in place of authority, sparing not to reproach, abuse and traduce the most honourable and reverend both in church and state; and which is yet worse, spared not blasphemously to fly upon the Lord Jesus himself, his word and ordinances, in such a manner as scarce in any age any hereticks or apostates have done the like; not only abandoning and rejecting all civil power and authority, except moulded according to their own fancies, but belching out errors in their familistical

* Gorton's purchase of Shawomet was in January 1642-3; the submission of the Sachems to Massachusetts, was in the July next following. Mr. Callender says, that Pomham consented to the grant made by Miantonomo to Gorton, though he afterwards denied it.

allegories, if I may so call them, as, to speak with holy reverence, they rendered the Lord Christ no other than an imagination; shunning not, blasphemously, to say, that Christ was but a shadow, and resemblance of what is done in every Christian; that Christ was incarnate in Adam, and was the image of God wherein Adam was created; and that his being born afterwards of the Virgin Mary, and suffering, was but a manifestation of his suffering in Adam; that man's losing God's image was the death of Christ; that Christ is the covenant properly, and, that faith and Christ are all one.* They call the holy word, and sermons of salvation, tales; the Lord's sup-

* In the first edition of the Memorial, there is the following angry note in the side margin, opposite to the specification of the Gortonian tenets; "Horrible Familism and Blasphemy, as if they were spoken and differ little from the cursed doctrine of their grand leader, *Henry Nichols*." The editor has not thought himself authorized to omit the note, as was done in the publication of the second and third editions, and, of course, has been led to make some inquiry concerning *Henry Nichols*. He was a Westphalian, who established what he called the *Family of Love*, in Holland in 1555. Mosheim calls him *Henry Nicholas*. He maintained, that he had a commission from heaven, to teach men that the essence of religion consisted in the feelings of *divine love*, and that all other theological tenets, whether relating to objects of faith or modes of worship, were of no importance. To this his main doctrine, says Mosheim, he may have probably added other odd fancies, as is common with innovators with a warm imagination, but candidly suggests, "that it will be much wiser to consult his own writings, than to depend entirely upon the accounts and representations of his adversaries." The *family of love* appeared in England in 1575, when their confession of faith was published. With great pretences to spiritual perfection, they were charged with laxity of morals. The sect made such progress as to excite much attention and alarm, and their tenets were considered of such importance as to employ the pen of Dr. Henry More, for their refutation. "Their principles," says Mr. Neal, "were something akin to the Quietists of the Church of Rome and the Quakers." But it appears that George Fox, founder of the Sect of Quakers, was strongly opposed to the seraphic family, whom he denominated a motly tribe of fanatics; and we find on the other hand, that Gorton, in Rhode Island, strenuously opposed the doctrine of the Quakers. [*Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. IV, 407. Neal's Hist. of Purit. I, 297. Callend. 38. Elliot's Eccl. Hist. Mass. Hist. Coll. IX, 35.*]

per, an abomination, and a spell; baptism, vanity and abomination; the ministers of the word, necromancers; and by other opprobrious terms villify and traduce them. Much more might be spoken and mentioned of this stuff, which they have not been ashamed to divulge; but a little is enough, save but to give the reader to see the Lord's goodness towards his poor people in New-England, that hath delivered us, and saved us of his grace from their pernicious, destructive ways, and hath so detected their folly, as it is made manifest to all men. In fine, the said Gorton and his fellow prisoners were, several of them, sentenced to remain in durance, in several of the towns in the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, for six months, and afterwards banished.

He was a subtle deceiver, courteous in his carriage to all, at some times, for his own ends, but soon moved with passion, and so lost that which he gained upon the simple. To shut up what I have to say concerning him, which is sad, he is since become a sordid man in his life, as he hath been declared to be in his cursed principles and opinions, and hath not shunned to say and affirm, that all the felicity we are like to have, we must expect in this life and no more, and therefore advised one, with whom he had some speech, to make much of herself, for she must expect no more but what she could enjoy in this life, or words to the same effect. Thus *evil men and deceivers grow worse and worse, deceiving and being deceived.* 2 Tim. iii, 13.*

* "What Mr. Gorton's religious opinions really were," says Mr. Callender, "it is now as hard to tell, as it is to understand his most mysterious dia-

1638.

This year Mr. Thomas Prince was chosen Governour of the jurisdiction of New-Plimouth. Mr. William Bradford, Mr. Edward Winslow, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. John Alden, Mr. John Jenny, Mr. John Atwood, and Mr. John Brown, were chosen to be his assistants in government.

This year three men were executed for robbing and murdering an Indian near Providence, which, besides the evidence that came against them, they did in substance confess against themselves, and were condemned by legal trial. Some have thought it great severity, to hang three English for one Indian; but the more considerate will easily satisfy themselves for the

last," but he contends that "there are sufficient reasons why we ought not, and cannot believe all that are confidently fathered upon him." The treatment which he received in Massachusetts Mr. Callender pronounces to be severe and scandalous. Governour Hutchinson says, the sentences were cruel. Gorton soon afterward went to England, and obtained an order for the quiet enjoyment of his purchase in the Narragansett country. In honour of his patron and benefactor, on that trying occasion, he gave to his possessions at Shawamet the name of Warwick. In 1669, he wrote a letter to Mr. Morton, vindicating himself from the charges made against him in the *New England Memorial*. In this letter which was published by Governour Hutchinson, in the first volume of his *History of Massachusetts*, he emphatically denies, and disavows many things laid to his charge. "You say," says he, "that I have spoken words, that there is no state nor condition of men after this life. I do verily believe that there is not a man, woman, or child, upon the earth, that will come forth and say, they ever heard such words come out of my mouth; and I appeal to God, the Judge of all secrets, that there never was such a thought entertained in my heart." He lived to a great age, says Dr. Elliot, officiated as a minister, became learned in the languages, though he had pretended to despise human learning and a liberal education. Mr. Allen places his death after 1676, and enumerates some of his publications. *Simplicity's Defence against the Seven Headed Policy*; which was answered by Mr. Winslow—*Antidote against Pharisaical Teachers*—*Saltmarsh returned from the Dead*, 1655—*A Glass for the People of New England*. [*Hutch. Hist. Mass.* I. 116. *Appendix* 467. *Callend. Hist. Disc.* 36. *Hist. Coll.* IX. 86. *Allen's Biog. and Hist. Dict.* 344]

legality of it; and, indeed, should we suffer their murderers to go unpunished, we might justly fear that God would suffer them to take a more sharp revenge. By such arguments was the Government of Plimouth moved by the Government of the Massachusetts to do justice in the case. And here may be noted, that the Massachusetts refused this trial, as being committed in the jurisdiction of Plimouth; and they of Rhode-Island, having apprehended them, delivered them to the aforesaid jurisdiction of Plimouth, on the same grounds.*

This year, about the second of June, there was a great and fearful earthquake. It was heard before it came with a rumbling noise, or low murmur, like unto remote thunder. It came from the northward, and passed southwards. As the noise approached near, the earth began to quake; and it came at length with that violence as caused platters, dishes, and such like things which stood upon shelves, to clatter and fall

* "Four servants of Plimouth ran from their masters, and coming to Providence, they killed an Indian. He escaped after he was deadly wounded in the belly, and got to other Indians; so being discovered they fled, and were taken at the Isle Aquidday.—After this Plimouth men sent for them, but one had escaped."—*Win. Journ.* 147.] This was in the month of September. Mr. Winthrop, in his account of the trial, says that the prisoners confessed the murder, and that they did it to get the Indian's wampum. Still there was a question about the death of the Indian, for none had seen him dead; though two witnesses testified that the wound was mortal. "At last two Indians," says Mr. Winthrop, "who with much difficulty were procured to come to the trial, (for they still feared that the English were conspired to kill all the Indians,) made oath after this manner, viz. that if he were not dead of that wound, then they would suffer death. Upon this they three were condemned and executed." This evidence, if correctly reported, will not satisfy modern lawyers of the propriety of the verdict. From all that appears, the strong expression of the Indian witnesses, might only imply a firm persuasion, without actual knowledge, of the death of their countryman. It should be presumed, however, that the death was unquestionably proved.

down; yea, people were afraid of their houses; and it was so, as that some, being without doors, could not stand, but were fain to catch hold of posts and pales to prevent them from falling. About half an hour after, or less, came another noise and shaking, but not so loud nor so strong as the former. It was not only on the land; but at sea also; for some ships that were on the sea-coast were shaken by it. So powerful is the mighty hand of the Lord, as to cause both the earth and sea to shake, and the mountains to tremble before him. His way is in the whirlwind, and the storm, and the clouds are the dust of his feet; the rocks are thrown down before him. Who can stand before his indignation? and who can abide in the fierceness of his anger? Nahum, i, 3—6.*

1639.

This year Mr. William Bradford was chosen Governour of Plymouth. Mr. Thomas Prince, Captain Miles Standish, Mr. John Alden, Mr. John Brown, Mr. William Collier, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, and Mr. John Jenny, were chosen assistants.

This year Harvard College was erected at Cambridge, in New-England, which was so called in re-

* This earthquake was on the first day of July, according to Winthrop and Johnson. "Between three and four in the afternoon, being clear weather, the wind westerly, there was a great earthquake. It came with a noise like a continued thunder, or the rattling of coaches, in London, but was presently gone. It was at Connecticut, at Narragansett, at Piscot, and all the parts round about. It shook the ships which rode in the harbour, and all the Islands. The noise and shaking continued about four minutes. The earth was unquiet twenty days after by times." [*Winth. Journ.* 135.] Johnson says, its course was from west to east [*Hond Work. Prov.* 131.]

membrance of a worthy gentleman, who liberally contributed towards the charge of the erecting of it.*

This year the great Sachem Woosamequen, sometimes called Massasoiet, and Moosanah his son, came into the court held at Plimouth, in New-England, on the five and twentieth day of September, in their own proper persons, and desired that the ancient league and confederacy formerly made with the government of Plimouth-aforesaid, wherein he acknowledged himself subject to the King of England, and his successors, may stand and remain inviolable. And the said

* In the Constitution of Massachusetts, [chap. v.] the foundation of Harvard College is referred to 1636. In that year the General Court gave four hundred pounds towards a public school at Newtown. The income of Charlestown ferry was afterwards added. "After God had carried us safe to New-England, and we had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our livelihood, reared convenient places for God's worship, and settled the civil government, one of the next things we longed for, and looked after, was, to advance learning, and perpetuate it to posterity, dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches, when our present ministers shall lie in the dust; and as we were thinking, and consulting, how to effect this great work, it pleased God to stir up the heart of one Mr. Harvard, (a godly gentleman, and a lover of learning, then living among us,) to give one half of his estate (it being all about one thousand seven hundred pounds) towards the erecting of a college, and all his library. After him another gave three hundred pounds. Others after them cast in more; and the publique hand of the state added the rest. The college was (by common consent) appointed to be at Cambridge, (a place very pleasant and accommodate) and is called (according to the name of the first founder) Harvard College." [*New-England's First Fruits. Hist. Coll. I. 242.*] Mr. Harvard died in 1638. In the same year the name of Newtown, where the college was established, was changed to Cambridge, and the seminary received the name of Harvard College, by order of Court, in 1639. The Rev. Henry Dunster was appointed President, by the "Magistrates and Ministers of the Colony," in August, 1640. [*Magnal. IV. 127.*] In 1642, the Governour, Deputy Governour, and magistrates, and the ministers of the "six next adjoining towns," were constituted a board for ordering and managing the affairs of the College. In the same year was the first commencement, when nine young gentlemen received the degree of Bachelor of Arts. A further account of the progress of this venerable and interesting institution, though confined to an outline, would exceed the reasonable limits of a note. A History of the College, in all its relations, would be a valuable and acceptable addition to our literary acquisitions. See *Appendix B.*

Woosamequen, and Mooanam his son,* for themselves and their successors, did faithfully promise to keep and observe the covenants and conditions therein expressed and contained, which, on their parts, are likewise to be kept and observed. And the said Woosamequen, and Mooanam his son, did then also promise to the whole court aforesaid, that he nor they shall or will needlessly or unjustly raise any quarrels, or do any wrong to other natives, to provoke them to war against him; and that he or they shall not give, sell, or convey any of his or their lands, territories or possessions whatsoever, to any person or persons whomsoever, without the privity and consent of the government of Plimouth, aforesaid, other than to such as the said government shall send or appoint. All which conditions the said Woosamaquen and Mooanam his son, for themselves and their successors, did then faithfully promise to observe and keep. And the whole court, in the name of the whole government, for each town respectively, did then likewise ratify and confirm the aforesaid ancient league and confederacy. And did also further promise to the said Woosamequen, and Mooanam his son, and their successors, that they shall and will from time to time defend the said Woosamequen, and Mooanam his son, and their successors, when need and occasion shall require, against all such as shall unjustly rise up against them to wrong or oppress them unjustly:†

* He that is here called Moosnam, is the same that, afterwards, was called Wamsutta; it being usual for the Indians to change their names. M.

† At what time, or on what occasion, Massasoit assumed the name of Woosamequen, is not ascertained. It appears by Winthrop's Journal, (who writes

1640.

MR. William Bradford was elected Governour of the jurisdiction of Plymouth. Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William Collier, Mr. John Brown, Capt. Miles Stan-

the name Owsamequen,) that he had this appellation in 1602. In the same Journal, in 1608, another Sachem is mentioned, bearing the same name. Moosanam, or Wamsutta, was the eldest son of Massasoit, and was afterwards called Alexander.

Mr. Hubbard observes, that this renewal of treaty by Massasoit, was a little before his death. [*Narrative of Ind. Wars.* 8.] But it appears certain that Massasoit lived more than fifteen years after this transaction. Gov. Hutchinson says he died about 1656; and this date is supported by Mr. Hubbard's own remark in another place; "After the death of this Wosamequen, or Massasoit, his eldest son succeeded him, about twenty years since." The narrative, which contains this passage, was written in 1676. That Wamsutta, his son, was in the exercise of the Sachemdom in 1658, appears from a purchase, made of him in that year, by Richard Smith, of an island in Bristol harbour, in which he is called "Wamscootta, Sachem of Whampinages." [*Hist. Coll.* V. 217.] Upon the first interview with Massasoit, in 1621, he is described as a portly man, in his *best years*; meaning, as is supposed, middle-aged. He must be considered, therefore, as about seventy years of age at the time of his death.

In this connexion, it occurs to make some inquiry respecting Hobamak, whose friendly services were so important and acceptable, at the commencement of the plantation. No mention has been made of him in the Memorial, since 1623. It appears that he had a settlement at Plymouth. "Hobamak's ground" is referred to in a division of lands, in 1623. In "New England's First Fruits," he is then spoken of; "As he increased in knowledge, so in affection, and also in his practice, reforming and conforming himself accordingly; and though he was much tempted by inticements, scoffs and scornings from the Indians, yet could he never be gotten from the English, nor from seeking after their God, but died amongst them, leaving some good hopes, in their hearts, that his soul went to rest." The tract entitled "New England's First Fruits," was published in London in 1642, or 1643. How long Hobamak had then been dead, does not appear. The extract relating to him will not be found in that portion of the tract, which is in the first volume of the Massachusetts Historical Collections. It is to be regretted that the whole was not reprinted.

In 1639 was the first House of Representatives in Plymouth Colony. The General Court met on the 4th June, and deputies were sent from all the towns then existing in the Colony; four from Plymouth, and two from each of the other towns—Duxbury, Seltuate, Sandwich, Taunton, Yarmouth, and Barnstable.

[*Colony Records. Hutch. Hist. Mass.* II. 414.]

"A Printing House was begun at Cambridge, [March 1639], by one Daye, at the charge of Mr. Glover, who died, on sea, hitherward. The first thing which

dish, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, and Mr. Edmund Freeman, were elected assistants.*

1641.

THIS year Mr. William Bradford was elected Governour of the jurisdiction of New-Plimouth. Mr. Edward Winslow, Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William Collier, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Mr. John Brown, and Mr. Edmund Freeman, were chosen assistants to him in government.†

was printed, was the Freeman's Oath; the next was an Almanack, made for New England, by Mr. Pierce, mariner; the next was the Psalms, newly turned into metre." [Winth. Journ. 171.]

* On the 2d of March, 1640—1, Gov. Bradford surrendered to the Freeman the patent of the Colony, which had been taken in his name, reserving three tracts, described in the instrument of assignment, for the "Purchasers on Old Comers." [Hazard. Coll. I. 468.] See Appendix S.

† A slight controversy occurred this year, between Massachusetts and Plymouth, relative to Scakunk, [Rehoboth.] Some persons from Massachusetts began a settlement at that place. Plymouth complained of it as an intrusion on their territory. "We sent some to Plimouth," says Governour Winthrop, "to see their patent, who bringing us a copy of so much as concerned the thing in question, though we were not fully satisfied thereby; yet, not being willing to strive for land, we sat still." [Journ. 219.] The winter of 1641—2, was extremely severe. "The bay was frozen over, so much, and so long," says Gov. Winthrop, "as the like, by the Indians' relation, had not been these forty years; and it continued from the 18th of this month, (~~February~~), to the 21st of the twelfth month, so as horses and carts went over in many places where ships have sailed. Captain Gibbons and his wife, with divers others on foot, by them, came riding from his farm on Pullen Point, right over to Boston. The 17th of the twelfth month, (~~March~~), when it had thawed so much as the water was above the ice half a foot, in some places, and they passed with loads of wood and six oxen, from Muddy river [Brockline] to Boston; and when it thawed, it removed great rocks, of above a ton weight, and brought them on shore." [Journ. 240.]

There is reason to believe, that our winters are, ordinarily, milder, than at the first settlement of the country, though this has been disputed. The monthly mean state of the Thermometer at Cambridge, from observations taken twenty three years, (from 1790 to 1812, inclusive,) is as follows.

1642.

This year Mr. William Bradford was elected Governour of the jurisdiction of New-Plimouth. Mr. Edward Winslow, Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William Collier, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Mr. John Brown, Mr. William Thomas, and Mr. Edmund Freeman, were elected assistants to him in government.

January	24. 97.	May,	66. 68.	September,	62. 43.
February,	27. 01.	June,	67. 36.	October,	50. 71.
March,	65. 46.	July,	72. 44.	November,	58. 76.
April,	46. 76.	August,	70. 66.	December,	30. 65.

[See Professor Farrar's abstract of meteorological observations, in the *Memoirs of the Amer. Acad. of Arts and Sciences*. Vol. III. part 2.]

Governour Winthrop enlivens his Journal, occasionally, with physical observations, and it were to be wished that such had been more frequent in our early writers. In the winter of 1639, he says, "in a close calm day, there fell divers flakes of snow of this form, * very thin, and as exactly pointed as art could have cut them in paper." [*Journ.* p. 199.] Congelation appears to have a near relation or resemblance to crystallization. These regular forms of snow flakes are not uncommon, and have gained the attention of philosophers of distinguished name. They are generally hexagonal. They sometimes have a globule at their center, and at the extremity of the rays. Muschenbroek observed some resembling a flower of six petals. Bartolin mentions having seen them of a pentagonal, and others of an octangular form. [See *Diction. Raisonne De Physique*, par M. J. Brisson, in which is an engraved representation of eighteen varieties of regular stellar snow flakes.]

The first prison was erected this year, (1641,) in Plymouth, on the north side of the "first street."

Twelve persons were enjoined to bring their muskets, with shot and powder, "every Lord's day, to the meeting, with their sword and furniture to every piece, ready for service that need require." [*Colony Records*.] There appears to have been, at this time, apprehensions entertained of hostile movements from the Narragansett Indians.

Mr. Richard Smith purchased, this year, of the Narragansett Sachems, a tract of land in their country, "amongst the thickest of the Indians, who were very numerous, and reputed to be thirty thousand, and erected a house for trade, being far from any English neighbour, and gave free entertainment to all travellers, it being the great road of the country." [*Hist. Coll.* V. 216.] Mr. Smith's house is frequently mentioned in the subsequent narratives of wars with the Indians. It was at Wickford, (part of North Kingstown) about twenty-five miles south from Providence. It is noted on the map prefixed to the first edition of Hubbard's *Narrative of Indian Wars*, published in London, 1677.

In reference unto the three years last specified, although I have no special providence to take notice of, particularly to assign to each of them, save the continuance of God's mercy and goodness in the annual election of godly and able magistrates in the jurisdiction of Plymouth, as is before noted; yet notwithstanding we are to take notice of the continued peace and plenty, with which not only these three years, restrictively considered, but also for many years together, both before and after them, New England was so marvellously gratiated. But that which is more, that about these times the Lord was pleased of his great goodness, richly to accomplish and adorn the colony of Plymouth, as well as other colonies in New-England, with a considerable number of godly and able gospel preachers, who then being dispersed and disposed of to the several churches and congregations thereof, gave light in a glorious and resplendent manner, as burning and shining lights. Which mercy and transcendent favour, had not sin and satan's envy interposed, might have rendered them greatly happy and prosperous; it being observed, that where gospel dispensation flourisheth, there prosperity, in other respects, may usually be expected.

In reference unto the honour of God, and due respects unto such worthy instruments, I thought meet to nominate some of the specialest of them, viz.

Mr. Charles Chauncy, Mr. William Hook, Mr. Nicholas Street, Mr. John Laythrop. Mr. John Mayo, Mr. John Reyner, Mr. Ralph Partridge, Mr. Samuel Newman, Mr. William Leverich, Mr. Richard Blinman, Mr. Edward Bulkly, Mr. John Miller, Mr. Mar-

maduke Matthews,* with some others that might be named. These some of them staid not long ere they removed, some into the neighbour colonies, some

* The Reverend Charle's Chauncey arrived at Plymouth, in 1638, a few days before the earthquake. He continued there about three years, assisting the Rev. Mr. Reyner. From thence he removed to Scituate, and was the minister of that place, until 1654, when he was elected President of Harvard College, upon the resignation of Mr. Dunster. He died in that office, in 1672, in the 82d year of his age. [*Hist. Coll. X. 171.*]

Rev. William Hook, was minister at Taunton. He removed in 1640, and became teacher in the church at New Haven, in connexion with Rev. Mr. Davenport. He was installed in that place, in 1644. In 1655, he returned to England; was some time minister at Axmouth, in Devonshire, and then master of the Savoy, on the Strand, near London, and "chaplain to the greatest man then in the nation," says Dr. C. Mather. It is presumed that Cromwell is intended by this description. After the restoration, he was silenced for nonconformity; and died, in the vicinity of London, in 1677, aged 77. [*Magnal. III. 214.*]

Rev. Nicholas Street was also minister at Taunton, after Mr. Hook, and succeeded him as teacher in the church at New Haven, about the year 1659; and after the removal of Mr. Davenport, to Boston, in 1667, became the only instructor in the church at New Haven, and so continued until his death, in 1674.

[*Trumb. Hist. of Conn. 310, 521.*]

Of the Rev. John Laythrop, (or Lothrop, as the name was written by himself,) Mr. Morton makes further mention, under the year 1653.

Rev. John Mayo, is said, in the description of Boston, [*Hist. Coll. III, 258,*] to be recorded as the first ordained pastor of the second church in Boston, (commonly called Old North) constituted in 1649; but it is observed, that neither the time of his ordination, or decease, is to be found in the records of that church. Plymouth church records give some further account of this gentleman. In 1644, he was teacher in the church at Barnstable, of which the Rev. John Lothrop was pastor. Upon the settlement of Eastham, about that time, he was invited to settle with the people at that place, and became their teacher. Afterward, some differences arising, he removed to Boston, and was an officer in the ministry, in the Second Church, in connexion with the Rev. S. Mather. "Growing aged," says the Plymouth Church Records, "and unable to carry on his office, he removed into this Colony, and lived near Yarmouth, and not long after fell asleep in the Lord." There are many of the name of Mayo, in the Cape towns, probably descended from the Rev. Mr. Mayo.

Rev. John Reyner is included in Dr. C. Mather's "First Classis," i. e. "such as were in the actual exercise of their ministry, when they left England." He was minister of the church at Plymouth about eighteen years, from 1636 to 1654. The dissolution of Mr. Reyner's connexion with Plymouth church is thus related in the Church Records. "The unhappy differences that fell out in the church at Barnstable, had such ill influence upon the church at Plimouth, that, together with the unsettledness of the church, and the going away of divers of its members,

into Old England, and others to their eternal rest, whereby the said jurisdiction was wanting in a great measure, for some time, of such a blessing. Howbeit,

yea, of the most eminent of them, it was a means of the unsettlement of this holy man of God; and although much blame may be layed to the people, about his removal, yet himself cannot be wholly exoused.—He left Plymouth in the month of November, 1654, and went to Boston, where he continued that winter, and returned in the spring following, in a way of visit, when he would have been easily persuaded to come again, if the people would have condescended to a proposition made by him, but they then having a price, had not a heart, but added to former sin by their neglect of this tender of mercy, being, divers of them, tainted with the then epidemical disease of some part of the country, about that time, namely, a slight esteem of an able ministry.”

The next summer Mr. Reyner was invited to preach at Dover, in New Hampshire, where he settled in the ministry, and spent the remainder of his life. He died in 1669. The Editor was informed, by Mrs. White, mentioned in the note, page 82, that Mr. Reyner was a brother of Mrs. Southworth, who was married to Governour Bradford in 1623. The Church Records describe him as “an able, faithful, laborious preacher of the Gospel, and a wise orderer of the affairs of the church; singularly endowed with a gift and propensity to train up children, in a catechetical way, in the grounds of the Christian religion.—In a word, this worthy leader was richly accomplished, with such gifts and qualifications as were befitting his place, being wise, faithful, grave, sober, a lover of good men, not greedy of the matters of this world, armed with much faith, patience, and meekness, mixed with courage for the cause of God.” [*Plymouth first Church Records. Belknap's Amer. Biog. II, 262. Cotton's Account. Hist. Coll. IV, 111, 118.*]

For the succession of ministers in Plymouth, see *Analecta*, at the close of the Appendix.

Rev. Ralph Partridge, the first minister of Duxbury, is mentioned again, under the year of his death in 1658.

Rev. Samuel Newman, was the first minister of Rehoboth. He came into the country in 1636, removed from Weymouth to Rehoboth in 1644, and died July, 1663, aged 63 years. He was educated at the university of Oxford; was an indefatigable student, and distinguished as a preacher. He compiled a Concordance of the Scriptures, which was published in London in 1640. During his residence at Rehoboth he revised it, using pine knots, instead of candles. It is denominated the Cambridge Concordance. [*Wood's Athen. Oxon. II, 330. Magnal. III, 118, 116. Holmer's Annals, I, 332, 333. Coll. Hist. Soc. IX, 191. Allen's Amer. Biog. & Hist. Dict. and Eliot's Biog. Dict. Memorial, year 1666.*]

Rev. William Leverich, or Leverick, as it is in the Magnolia, was the first minister of Sandwich. He is placed by Dr. C. Mather, in his *First Classis*, among the “first good men,” but he gives no particulars of his life or character. In the Plymouth Church Records, he is called Leveridge; and it is mentioned, that he assisted Mr. Partridge at Duxbury, a short space before he removed to

the Lord hath since graciously raised up a supply to divers of the said congregations, and more may be expected according to his promises.

Sandwich, and that he was teacher of the church of Sandwich "a considerable time."

Rev. Richard Blinman was a clergyman from Wales. He arrived in this country in 1642, with some of his friends. They went first to Green's Harbour, (Marshfield,) where he remained a short time, less than a year, and then removed to Gloucester. From thence he went to New London, in 1646, and continued in the ministry there about ten years. In 1658 he removed to New Haven, and after a short residence, returned to England. "Living to a good old age," says Dr. C. Mather, "he who, wherever he came, did set himself to do good, concluded his life, at the city of Bristol, where one of the last things he did, was to defend, in print, the cause of Infant Baptism." [*Magnal.* III, 213. *Trumb. Hist. of Connec.* 293, 310. *Hist. Coll.* IX, 39.]

Rev. Edward Bulkley is in Dr. C. Mather's Second Classis—"of young scholars, whose education for their designed ministry, not being finished, yet came over from England, with their friends, and had their education perfected in this country, before the college was come unto maturity enough to bestow its laurels." Mr. Bulkley was a son of Rev. Peter Bulkley, first minister of Concord. He was first settled in the ministry at Marshfield, after Mr. Blinman's removal, and afterward succeeded his father at Concord, about 1660. [*Magnal.* III, 37. *Plymouth Church Records.*]

Rev. John Miller, and Rev. Marmaduke Matthews, were both ministers of Yarmouth. "We find," says the author of the Memorabilia of Yarmouth, [*Hist. Coll.* V, 59,] "that John Miller was a minister of Yarmouth. It is probable that he was the first, and Mr. Matthews the second, although we have no records of either." Mr. Miller is included in Dr. C. Mather's "First Classis;" he merely mentions him as minister of Yarmouth. He had, previously preached at Rowley; and it may be inferred from some hints by Johnson, that he succeeded Mr. Matthews at Yarmouth.

Of Mr. Matthews we find this notice in Johnson's Wonder Working Providence, speaking of the first settlement of Malden; "—they were supplied, at times with some young students from the college, till the year 1650, one Mr. *Marmaduke Matthews*, coming out of Plymouth patten, was, for some space of time, with a people at the town of Hull, which is a small port-town, peopled by fishermen, and lies at the entrance of the Bay's mouth, where this Mr. Matthews continued preaching, till he lost the approbation of some able, understanding men among both magistrates and ministers, by weak and unsafe expressions in his teaching; yet, notwithstanding, he was called to the office of a pastor, by the brethren of the church at Malden." The author's poetical address to Mr. Matthews, is in a style of reproof, and thus concludes.

"Completing of Christ's churches is at hand,

Matthews stand up and blow a certain sound;

Warriors are wanting, Babel to withstand,

Christ's truth maintain, 'twill bring thee honours crown'd."

1643.

THIS year Mr. William Bradford was elected Governor of the jurisdiction of New-Plimouth; and Mr. Edward Winslow, Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William Collier, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Mr. John Brown, Mr. Edmund Freeman, and Mr. William Thomas, were chosen his assistants in government.

This year, about the eighteenth day of April,* died Mr. William Brewster, the ruling elder of the church of Christ at Plimouth; concerning whom, I could say much of mine own knowledge; but I shall content myself only to insert the honourable testimony that Mr. William Bradford, deceased, hath left written with his own hand, concerning him.

Saith he, my dear friend, Mr. William Brewster, was a man that had done and suffered much for the Lord Jesus, and the gospel's sake, and hath borne his part in weal and woe, with this poor persecuted church, above thirty six years, in England, Holland, and in this wilderness; and done the Lord and them faithful service in his place and calling. And notwithstanding the many troubles and sorrows he passed through the Lord upheld him to a great age; he was fourscore and four years of age when he died.† He had this blessing added by the Lord to all the rest, to die in his bed in peace amongst the midst of his friends, who mourned and wept over him, and ministered what

* In the Church Records, Elder Brewster's death is said to have occurred on the 16th April, 1644.

† "He was near four score years of age (if not all out) when he died."

[Plymouth Church Records.]

help and comfort they could unto him; and he again recompensed them while he could. His sickness was not long, and until the last day thereof, he did not wholly keep his bed; his speech continued until somewhat more than half a day before his death, and then failed him, and about nine or ten of the clock that evening he died without any pangs at all. A few hours before, he drew his breath short, and some few minutes before his last, he drew his breath long, as a man fallen into a sound sleep, without any pangs or gasping, and so sweetly departed this life unto a better.

I would now demand of any, what he was the worse for former sufferings? What, do I say worse? No, he was the better; and they now added to his honour. It is a manifest token saith the apostle, 1 Thess. i, 5—7, of the righteous judgment of God, that we might be counted worthy of the kingdom of God, for which we also suffer; seeing it is a righteous thing with God, to recompense tribulation to them that trouble you, and to you that are troubled, rest with us, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels. And if you be reproached, saith the apostle Peter,* for the name of Christ, happy are ye, for the spirit of glory and of God shall rest upon you. What though he wanted the riches and pleasures of the world in this life, and pompous monuments of his funeral? yet the memorial of the just shall be blessed, when the name of the wicked shall rot, Prov. x, 17, with their marble mon-

* 1 Pet. iv, 14.

uments. He was well educated in learning, as at inferior schools, so also at the university; and from thence went to the court, and there served Mr. Davison, a godly gentleman,* and secretary of state to Queen Elizabeth, and attended him on his embassy into Holland, and was employed by him in matters of great trust; as in keeping of the keys of the cautionary towns delivered up to him for her Majesty, and

* There seems to have been a similarity of character between Mr. Brewster and his patron. Secretary Davison is represented as "a plain honest man, without policy, and totally unskilled in the intrigues of a court." [*Walton's Lives*, 198, note.] His guileless simplicity, rendered him a victim to Queen Elizabeth's crooked policy, relative to the execution of Mary. Mr. Brewster continued in the employment of Secretary Davison until his fall, in 1587. In this honourable service he had for an associate, George Cranmer, whose virtues and worth, and whose cordial and sacred friendship with the judicious Hooker, are so feelingly described by honest Walton. [*Lives*, 193.]

Elder Brewster had a considerable library. The books were appraised, after his decease, by Governour Bradford, Mr. Prince, and Rev. Mr. Reyner. The whole number was two hundred and seventy-five, of which sixty-four were in the learned languages. They were valued at forty-three pounds.

The Elder's family, in 1620, consisted of six persons, [see p. 39,] comprehending himself and wife and six children. Two daughters were left in Leyden. Mr. Robinson writes to him from Leyden, Dec. 20, 1623, "I hope Misteris Brewster's weak and decayed state of body will have some repairing, by the coming of her daughters, and the provisions in this, and other ships, sent." [*Plymouth Church Records*, Lib. I, 28.]

Those daughters, Patience and Fear, arrived in the Ann, in 1623. The latter was, soon afterward, married to Mr. Thomas Prince; and, before 1627, ~~the latter~~ ^{from} was married to Mr. Isaac Allerton. In the division of the cattle, in 1627, Elder Brewster was at the head of lot No. 5; as his wife is not mentioned, it may be presumed, that she was not then living. His sons and unmarried daughters, contained in that list, are Love, Wrestling, Jonathan, Lucretia, William, and Mary. It would appear, therefore, that he had eight children; two of whom, it is supposed, were born in this country. These were probably the two last in the list, William and Mary. In an award made August 1645, by W. Bradford, E. Winslow, T. Prince, and M. Standish, between Jonathan Brewster and Love Brewster, [*Colony Records*, I, 199,] they are mentioned as the only surviving sons of Elder Brewster.

There are many descendants from this respectable stock. They are principally resident in Duxbury, Kingston, and Plymouth.

When the south part of Harwich was separately incorporated, in 1803, it received the name of *Brewster*, in honour of the venerable Elder.

things of the like nature. His master would always in private confer with him as a friend or equal. He afterwards lived in good esteem in his own country, and did much good, until the troubles of those times enforced his remove into Holland, and so into New-England, and was in both places of singular use and benefit to the church and people of Plimouth, whereof he was; being eminently qualified for such work as the Lord had appointed him unto; of which, should I speak particularly, as I might. I should prove tedious; I shall content myself, therefore, only to have made honourable mention in general of so worthy a man.*

* In the Records of the First Church in Plymouth, there is a more extended account of the life and character of Elder Brewster, which the Editor has considered it a duty to transcribe, and to insert in this edition of the Memorial. It was probably written by Secretary Morton.

"I should say something of his life, if to say a little were not worse than to be silent. But I cannot wholly forbear, though haply more may be done hereafter.

"After he had attained some learning, viz. the knowledge of the Latin tongue, with some insight in the Greek, and spent some small time at Cambridge, and then being first seasoned with the seeds of grace and virtue, he went to the court, and served that religious and godly gentleman, Mr. Davison, divers years, when he was Secretary of State; who found him so discreet and faithful, as he trusted him above all others that were about him, and only employed him in matters of greatest trust and secrecy. He esteemed him rather as a son than a servant; and for his wisdom and godliness, he would converse with him, in private, more like a familiar than a master. He attended his master when he was sent in embassy by the Queen, into the Low Countries, (in the Earl of Leicester's time,) as for other weighty affairs of state, so to receive possession of the cautionary towns; and in token thereof, the keys of Flushing being delivered to him in her Majesty's name; he kept them some time, and committed them to his servant, who kept them under his pillow on which he slept, the first night. And, at his return, the states honoured him with a gold chain; which his master committed to him, and commanded him to wear it when they arrived in England, as they rode through the country, until they came to the court. He afterwards remained with him until his troubles, when he was put from his place, about the death of the Queen of Scots, and some good time after; doing him many offices of service in the time of his troubles. Afterwards, he went and lived in the country; in good esteem among his friends, and the good gentlemen of those parts, especially the godly and religious. He did much good in the country, where he lived, in pro-

And here I might take occasion to mention, with admiration, the marvellous providence of God, that notwithstanding the many changes and hardships that

moting and furthering religion, not only by his practise and example, and provoking and encouraging others, but by procuring good preachers for the places thereabouts; and drawing on others to assist and help to forward in such a work, he himself most commonly deepest in the charge, and sometimes above his abilities. In this state he continued many years, doing the best good he could, and walking according to the light he saw, until the Lord revealed further unto him. And, in the end, by the tyranny of the bishops against godly preachers and people, in silencing the one, and persecuting the other, he, with many more of those times, began to look further into particulars, and to see into the unlawfulness of their callings, and the burthen of many antichristian corruptions, which both he and they endeavoured to cast off, as they also did.

"After they were joined into communion, he was a special stay and help to them. They ordinarily met at his house on the Lord's day, which was within a manor of the bishop's. With great love he entertained them, when they came, making provision for them to his great charge; and continued so to do, while they could stay in England. And when they were to remove out of the country, he was one of the first in all adventures, and most forward in any. He was the chief of those that were taken at Boston, in Lincolnshire, and suffered the greatest loss; and one of the seven that were kept longest in prison; and after, bound over to the smizes.

After he came into Holland, he suffered much hardships, after he had spent the most of his means; having a great charge and many children. And, in regard to his former breeding and course, not so fit for many employments as others were, especially such as were toilsome and laborious. Yet he ever bore his condition with much cheerfulness and content. Towards the latter part of those twelve years spent in Holland, his outward condition was mended, and he lived well and plentiful; for he fell into a way, by reason he had the Latin tongue, to teach many students, who had a desire to learn the English tongue, to teach them English; and by his method they quickly attained it, with great facility; for he drew rules to learn it by, after the Latin manner; and many gentlemen, both Danes and Germans, resorted to him, as they had time, from their other studies; some of them being great mens' sons. He also had means to set up printing, (by the help of some friends,) and so had employment enough; and by reason of many books, which would not be allowed to be printed in England, they might have had more than they could do.

But now, removing into this country, all these things were laid aside again, and a new course of living must be framed unto; in which he was no way unwilling to take his part, and to bear his burden with the rest; living many times without bread or corn, many months together; having many times nothing but fish, and often wanting that also; and drank nothing but water for many years together, until five or six years of his death; and yet he lived, by the blessing of God, in health until very old age. And, besides that, he would labour with his hands in

this people, viz. the first planters at New-Plimouth, went through, and the many enemies they had, and difficulties they met withal, that so many of them should live unto very old age. It was not only this reverend man's condition, but many more of them did the like; some dying before and about this time, and some living, who attained to sixty years of age,

the fields, as long as he was able. Yet, when the church had no other minister, he taught twice every Sabbath, and that, both powerfully and profitably, to the great contentment of the hearers, and their comfortable edification. Yea, many were brought to God by his ministry. He did more in this behalf, in a year, than many who have their hundreds a year do, in all their lives. For his personal abilities he was qualified above many. He was wise and discreet, and well spoken; having a grave, deliberate utterance; of a very cheerful spirit; very sociable and pleasant among his friends; of an humble and modest mind; of a peaceable disposition; undervaluing himself, and his own abilities; and sometimes overvaluing others; inoffensive and innocent in his life and conversation; which gained him the love of those without, as well as those within. Yet he would tell them plainly of their faults and evils, both publicly and privately, but in such a manner as usually was well taken from him. He was tender-hearted, and compassionate of such as were in misery, but especially of such as had been of good estate and rank and were fallen into want and poverty, either for goodness and religion's sake, or by the injury and oppression of others. He would say, of all men, these deserved to be most pitied. And none did more offend and displease him, than such as would haughtily and proudly carry and lift up themselves, being risen from nothing, and having little else in them but a few fine clothes, or a little riches more than others.

In teaching, he was very stirring, moving the affections; also very plain and distinct in what he taught; by which means he became the more profitable to the hearers. He had a singular good gift in prayer, both publick and private, in bringing up the heart and conscience before God, in the confession of sin, and begging the mercies of God in Christ, for the pardon thereof. He always thought it were better for ministers to pray oftener, and divide their prayers, than to be long and tedious in the same, except upon solemn and special occasions, as on days of humiliation, and the like. His reason was, that the heart and spirits of all, especially the weak, could not stand and continue bent (as it were) so long towards God as they ought to do, in that duty, without flagging and falling off.

"For the government of the church, which was most proper to his office, he was careful to preserve good order in the same; and to preserve purity both in the doctrine and communion in the same; and to suppress any error, or contention, that might begin to arise among them. And God, accordingly gave good success to his endeavours herein all his days: and he saw the fruit of his labours in that behalf."

and to sixty-five, divers to seventy, and some to more than eighty, as he did. It must needs be more than ordinary, and above natural reason that so it should be; for it is found in experience, that changing of air, famine, and unwholesome food, much drinking of water, sorrows and troubles, &c. all of them are enemies to health, causes of much diseases, consumers of natural vigour and the bodies of men, and shortness of life; and yet, of all these things they had a large and long part, and suffered deeply in the same. They went from England to Holland, where they found both worse air and diet than that they came from; from thence, enduring a long imprisonment in the ships at sea, into New-England, and how it hath been with them here hath already been shewn; and what crosses, troubles, fears, wants and sorrows they have been liable unto, is easily to be discerned, so as in some sort they may say with the apostle, 1 Cor. xi, 26, 27, "They were in journeys often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils of their own nation, in perils amongst the heathen, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils amongst false brethren; in weariness, in painfulness, in watching often, in hunger, in thirst, in fasting often, in cold and nakedness." What was it then that upheld them? It was God's visitation that preserved their spirits; he that upheld the apostle upheld them, 2 Cor. iv, 9; "They were persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but perished not; as unknown, and yet known; as dying, and behold we live; as chastened, and yet not killed."

God, it seems, would have all men behold such works of his providence, as these are towards his people, that they, in like cases, might be encouraged to depend upon him in their trials, and also bless his name when they see his goodness towards others. "Man lives not by bread only." Deut. viii, 3. It is not by dainty fare, peace, rest, and heart's ease, in enjoying contentments and good things of this world only, that preserves health and prolongs life. God, in such examples, would have the world take notice that he can do it without them; and if the world will shut their eyes, and take no notice thereof, yet he would have his people to see and consider it. Daniel could be in better liking with pulse, than with the king's dainties. Jacob, though he went from one nation to another people, and passed through famine, fears, and many afflictions, yet he lived unto old age, and died sweetly, and rested in the Lord, as many others of God's servants have done, and still do, through God's goodness, notwithstanding all the malice of their enemies, "When the branch of the wicked shall be cut off before his day, and the bloody and deceitful man shall not live out half his days." Job xv, 32; Ps. lv, 23.*

* The Editor has been favoured with a manuscript, belonging to a friend, from which the following list is extracted, exhibiting the longevity of many of the first planters of the Old Colony.

Those with an asterisk prefixed, arrived in some one of the first four ships. the May-Flower, Fortune, Ann, or James. The rest came afterward, but all before 1631. The obelisk annexed to the age, in some instances, indicates, that the number of years is not exactly ascertained, but that it exceeds what is inserted.

Time of decease.		Age.
1643	* William Brewster,	80 7
1664.	* Julian Kempton, widow of Manasses Kempton,	81
1667.	Gabriel Mallowell,	83

17

By reason of the plotting of the Narragansetts, ever since the Pequot war, the Indians were drawn into a general conspiracy against the English in all parts, as

<i>Time of decease.</i>	<i>Age.</i>
1668. John Downham, (Deacon) - - -	80 †
1670. * Alice Bradford, widow of the Governour,	80
1672. * John Howland, - - -	80 †
1673. * Thomas Prince, - - -	73
1678. * Elizabeth Warren, widow of Richard Warren,	90 †
1675. Ann Tupper, (Sandwich) - - -	97
1675. Dorothy Brown, (Swansey) - - -	90
1676. Thomas Tupper, (Sandwich) - - -	97
1677-8. * Edward Bange, (Eastham) - - -	86
1685. * Nathaniel Morton, (Secretary) - - -	73
1687. Robert Finney, (Deacon) - - -	80
1683. Mary Carpenter, - - -	90 †
1688-9. George Watson, - - -	86 †
1689. * Priscilla Cooper, - - -	91 †
1691. * Thomas Cushman, (Elder) - - -	84
1692. John Downham, (son of the Deacon) - - -	79
1697. * Thomas Clark, (mate of ship May-Flower)	98
1699. * Mary Cushman, (widow of Elder Cushman)	90 †
1704. George Bonham, - - -	95 †
1705. Samuel King, - - -	90 †
1710. Phebe Finney, (widow of Deacon Finney)	91

We find a similar longevity among the first planters in Massachusetts, and of the other New England colonies; a few instances will be mentioned.

In Massachusetts.

<i>Age.</i>	<i>Age.</i>
Richard Bellingham, 82	Rev. Thomas Parker, 82
Ezekiel Chever, 94	President Chauncey, 82
Simon Bradstreet, 94	Rev. Nehemiah Walter, 84
Rev. John Higginson, 93	Rev. John Ward, 83
Rev. John Eliot, 86	Rev. Samuel Whiting, 83
Rev. Thomas Mayhew, 93	Rev. John Woodbridge, 82

In Rhode-Island.

Roger Williams, 84	William Coddington, 78
Samuel Gorton, 80 †	

In Connecticut.

Rev. James Fitch, 80	Major John Mason, 73
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In the succeeding generation, instances of greater longevity have occurred. Elder John Faunce, of the first generation from the first planters, died at 100.

^ Thomas

was in part discovered the year before, and now made more plain and evident, by many discoveries and free confessions of sundry Indians upon several occasions, from divers places, concurring in one; with such other concurring circumstances as gave the English sufficiently to understand the truth thereof, and to think of means how to prevent the same. In which respect, together with divers other and more weighty reasons, the four colonies, viz. the Massachusetts, Plimouth, Connecticut, and New-Haven, entered into a more

mouth, in 1745, aged 99. His daughter, Patience Kempton, died at New Bedford, in 1779, aged 105 years and six months. Ephraim Pratt, grandson of Joshua Pratt, one of the first comers at Plymouth, died at Shutesbury, county of Worcester, in 1804, aged 116. Ebenezer Cobb, who was born in Plymouth, and died in Kingston, in 1801, aged 107 years and eight months, was of the third generation.

For instances of extraordinary longevity in New Hampshire, see Belknap's History of New Hampshire, III, 250. It is observed by that intelligent writer, that natives of foreign countries, who remove to this part of America, generally live to a great age, if they do not impair their constitutions by spirituous liquors. The salubrity of the climate, which our ancestors soon perceived and announced, is now well ascertained. Not more than one in seventy of the inhabitants of New Hampshire dies in a year, according to Dr. Belknap's estimate; but the proportion, it is apprehended, is greater, taking the New England states together. According to the late Professor Wigglesworth's calculations and deductions, from a number of bills of mortality, it appears, that the births annually, are double the number of deaths; that about one seventh part attain the age of seventy, and that the period of duplication is about twenty-five years. [*Mem. of Amer. Ac. of Arts and Sci.* II, part I, 131.] The Rev. Dr. Freeman, in his valuable letter, in the Appendix to Dr. Belknap's History of New Hampshire, considers the period of duplication in New-England, by natural increase, to be less than that stated by Dr. Wigglesworth; and this opinion is embraced by Mr. Malthus, in his celebrated Essay on Population. The periods of doubling, he observes, from the first settlement of North America to 1800, have been but very little above twenty years. The highest average proportion of births to deaths, in England, he informs us, may be considered about one hundred and twenty to one hundred; and that the proportion in France, for ten years, ending in 1780, was about one hundred and fifteen to one hundred. The difference in favour of the United States, does not arise, as is obvious, from any superiority in climate, but from the easy and ample means of subsistence, the state of manners, and facilities to the early formation of families in a new country.

near union and confederation, the nineteenth day of May, 1643. And the articles of the said confederation were signed by the commissioners of the said jurisdictions respectively, by which were authorized thereunto, viz.

John Winthrop, Governour of the Massachusetts, Thomas Dudley, Edward Winslow, William Collier, Edward Hopkins, Thomas Grigson, Theophilus Eaton, George Fenwick.*

* A confederation of the New England colonies, for mutual aid and defence in matters of general concern, had been for several years in agitation before it was accomplished. Connecticut and New Haven, from their vicinity to the Dutch settlement, were particularly pressing for an agreement of this description. In 1638, articles of union were prepared, and referred for consideration to the next year: and from that time Connecticut annually appointed agents to repair to Massachusetts to urge the accomplishment of this interesting compact. The Commissioners who framed and agreed on the articles, at Boston, in May 1643, were Gov. Haynes, Mr. Hopkins, and Mr. Fenwick from Connecticut; Gov. Eaton, and Mr. Gregson, from New Haven; Mr. Winslow and Mr. Collier, from Plymouth; Governour Winthrop, Mr. Dudley, Mr. Bradstreet, Mr. Hawthorne, Mr. Gibbons, and Mr. Tyng, of Massachusetts. The Plymouth Commissioners having power only to treat, but not to determine, did not sign the articles until a meeting of the Commissioners at Boston, in September, 1643. The articles of confederation, and the proceedings of the Commissioners, at their several meetings, are given at large in Hazard's Historical Collections, and form an important part of that very valuable work. They occupy almost the whole of the second volume. Until 1664, the meetings of the Commissioners of the United Colonies were annual. They were afterward triennial. In 1670, some alterations were made in the articles. The meetings were at Boston, Plymouth, Hartford, and New Haven, alternately, excepting, that in the rotation, two successive meetings were holden at Boston.

Governour Hutchinson observes, that this union subsisted until the year 1686, when the Charters were vacated by a commission from James II; but the records of their transactions, in Mr. Hazard's copy, extend only to March 24, 1678—9, when there was a meeting of the Commissioners at Plymouth. "This confederacy," says Governour Hutchinson, "was acknowledged and countenanced by the authority in England, from its beginning until the restoration; and in letters from King Charles the Second, notice is taken of it, without any exception to the establishment." [*Hist. of Mass.* I, 119, 120. *Trumb. Hist. of Conn.* I, 124, 125. *Winth. Journ.* 275—282.]

The said articles at large, with sundry other particulars appertaining thereunto, together with the particulars concerning the plotting contrivements, menacings and insolences of the Narragansetts against the English, together with the provision and preparation made by the English for an expedition against them, with the yieldings and compliance of the said Narragansetts to the English. composition and articles of agreement made with them, &c. these are all to be seen as they are at large extent in the records of the commissioners for the united colonies of New England, whereunto I refer the reader.*

1644.

THIS year Mr. Edward Winslow was elected Governour of the jurisdiction of New-Plimouth. Mr. William Bradford, Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William Collier, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Mr. John Brown, Mr. William Thomas, and Mr. Edmund Freeman, were elected his assistants in government.

This year Mr. John Atwood died. He was a godly man, singularly endowed with the grace of patience, and having a large estate, became a useful benefactor to the colony of New-Plimouth. He departed this life expressing great faith in Christ, and a cheertul expectation of the restoration of his body at the general resurrection in glory.†

* See Acts of the Commissioners for the United Colonies of New England, Anno 1644, and 1645. M.

† It is not ascertained when this gentleman came into the country; his name is not on the list of Freemen in 1633, or on the Plymouth tax list for that year, copied in Hazard's Collections, I, 326.

This year many of the town of Plimouth, by reason of some straits that were upon them, took up thoughts of removing to some other place, for their better accommodation, and for that end made a more exact and particular discovery of a place called by the Indians Nauset; which place being purchased by them of the Indians, divers of the considerablest of the church and town removed thither, and erected a town, which is now called by the name of Eastham.*

1645.

This year Mr. William Bradford was elected Governour of the jurisdiction of New-Plimouth. Mr. Edward Winslow, Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William Collier, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Mr. John Brown, and Mr. Edmund Freeman, were elected his assistants in government.

The Commissioners of the united colonies of New-England were called together this year, before their ordinary time of meeting,† partly in regard of some differences between the French and the government of

* Among the principal people who removed from Plymouth to Eastham, were Thomas Prince, who had been twice Governour of the Colony, John Doane, one of the deacons of the church, Nicholas Snow, Josias Cook, Richard Higgins, John Smalley, and Edward Bangs. Duxbury and Marshfield had before been settled, entirely from Plymouth. "The church at Eastham was the third," says the Author of the account of Plymouth church, "which came forth, as it were, out of our bowels." [*Hist. Coll.* IV, 113.] The other settlements then existing in the Colony, Scituate, Barnstable, Sandwich, Yarmouth and Taunton, were derived from other sources, excepting Scituate, which was partly peopled from Plymouth. The breach on the primitive plantation by the settlement of Eastham, produced great sensation; and, such repeated removals led to a serious consideration, whether it were not better to make a joint removal, to a more eligible situation.

[*See Appendix T.*]

† This meeting was held the 28th of July, 1645. M.

the Massachusetts, about their aiding of Monsieur Latore and Monsieur de Aulney, and partly about the Indians, who had broken their former agreements about the peace concluded the year before; as concerning such conclusions and determinations which passed in this meeting, in reference to the premises, I shall refer the reader unto the acts of the said commissioners for that year, as they are recorded at large.*

* Latour and De Aulney, were two enterprising Frenchmen, who had conflicting claims in that country of dubious limits, *Acadie*. By the treaty of St. Germain, in 1632, Acadie and Canada were relinquished to France. The French King, soon afterward, granted to De Razilly the lands around the bay and river of St. Croix. He appointed De Aulney his Lieutenant of that part of Acadie west of St. Croix, and La Tour of the part east of that river. It was under this arrangement that the Plymouth people were expelled from Penobscot, by De Aulney, in 1635. [See p. 180, 181, *note*.] Razilly died soon afterward, and De Aulney and La Tour both claimed a general command of Acadie, and hostilities commenced between them. La Tour's principal fort was at St. John's. De Aulney, by instructions from his sovereign, in 1638, was to confine himself to the coast of the Etechemins, [the Seodick.] In this controversy, La Tour, who was a Huguenot, or pretended to be such, was favoured by the government and people of Massachusetts. He was at Boston, in the summer of 1643, for the purpose of obtaining aid against De Aulney. No direct assistance was granted; but at a meeting of the magistrates and some of the deputies near Boston, convened by the Governour, (Winthrop,) La Tour was permitted to hire any ships in the harbour, or such persons as might be willing to accompany him. This proceeding was much censured, as impolitic and unjust, by some of the principal men in the colony.

Governour Winthrop, afterward, in his Journal, records an acknowledgment of his precipitancy in this transaction. De Aulney's claims and proceedings were supported in France; and in October, 1644, his deputies, at Boston, concluded an agreement with Governour Endicott, subject to the ratification of the Commissioners of the United Colonies. This agreement with De Aulney was ratified, at the special meeting mentioned in the text; but "he proved," says Hutchinson, "troublesome enemy notwithstanding." [*Hist. of Mass.* I, 120—127. *Winth. Journ.* 282, 290, 299, 302, 339, 342, 359—363. *Hazard's Collect.* II, 50—54.]

In 1637 Miantonomo, Sachem of the Narragansetts, made an agreement with the government of Massachusetts, not to fight, without their consent, with any of the Indians; and particularly not to invade Uncas, Sachem of the Monheagans. In the next year, there was a tripartite agreement, made at Hartford, between Miantonomo, Uncas, and the English, in which it was stipulated, that those Sa-

1646.

This year Mr. William Bradford was chosen Governour of the jurisdiction of Plymouth; and Mr. Edward Winslow, Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William

gamores should not make war on each other for any alleged injuries, without an appeal to the English. In the spring of the year, 1643, an attempt, it was said, was made to assassinate Uncas, by a Pequot Indian, one of his subjects; and it was suspected that he was incited to this act by Miantonomo. Other attempts, it is alleged, were made to take the life of Uncas; and in the same year, the two Sachems came to open war. Miantonomo brought nearly one thousand men into the field; but was defeated by Uncas with not half the number, and taken prisoner. Uncas took the advice of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, at their meeting in Boston, in September 1643; and pursuant to their recommendation, put his prisoner to death; or, as Dr. I. Mather relates the incident, "very fairly cut off his head." The Narragansett nation, as was to have been expected, were generally exasperated at this proceeding; and among other aggravating circumstances, they alleged, that they had paid a ransom for their Sachem's life, in Wampum, to the amount of forty pounds. Their animosities were partially composed by the Commissioners, at their meeting at Hartford, in September, 1644; the Narragansett Sachems agreeing, that no war should be begun with the Monheagan Sachem, or his men, until after the next planting time; and that, before they commenced hostilities, they should give thirty days notice to the government of Massachusetts and of Connecticut. The hostile movements of the Narragansetts after this arrangement, produced the meeting of the Commissioners mentioned in the text. They convened at Boston, and determined to engage in war, in defence of Uncas. The Narragansetts declared their determination to have no peace, without the head of Uncas. The Commissioners immediately determined to raise three hundred men; Massachusetts to furnish one hundred and ninety, Plymouth forty, Connecticut forty, and New-Haven thirty. Major Edward Gibbons was appointed to the command of the army. Forty men were immediately despatched to relieve Uncas; and Captain Standish, with the Plymouth troops, marched as far as Rehoboth. The whole force was about advancing, when the Narragansett Sachems made their appearance at Boston, to sue for peace. A treaty was signed on the 27th of August, between the Commissioners and Pessecus and Mexanno, eldest sons of Canonius, Jannemo, Wippetamock, and others, Sagamores of the Narragansetts and Nianticks. The Indians were required to pay two thousand fathoms of wampum, by instalments, to restore to Uncas his captives and canoes, make satisfaction for destroying his corn, &c. keep perpetual peace with the English, and all their allies and subjects, and give hostages for performance of their engagements. The treaty is given entire in Hazard's Collections, and also "a declaration of passages and proceedings between the English and Narragansetts, with their confederates," which was prepared by the Commissioners when they had resolved upon the war. They commence the instru-

Collier, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, and Mr. Edward Freeman, were elected his assistants in government.

About the middle of May, this year, there came three men of war into Plimouth harbour, under the command of Captain Thomas Cromwell; who had taken several prizes from the Spaniards, by commission from the Earl of Warwick. They were full of monies, silks, and other rich goods, some of which they left behind them. They were a company of lusty, stout men, but very unruly and hard to govern; notwithstanding the care and vigilance both of such as were in authority of Plimouth, and also of their own commanders, who could hardly restrain them, especially from inordinate drinking and quarrelling. It proved fatal to one of them, who being quarrelling with one of their own company, and being command-

ment, with expressing a consideration "that their Lord and Master is King of Righteousness and Peace; that he gives answerable laws, and casts his subjects into such a mould and frame, that (in their weak measure) they may hold forth their virtues in their cause and carriage, not only with the nations of Europe, but with the barbarous natives of the wilderness;" and they proceed to affirm, that accordingly, "both in their treaties and converse, they have had an awful respect to divine rules, endeavouring to walk uprightly and inoffensively, and in the midst of many injuries and insolencies, to exercise much patience and long-suffering towards them."

The execution of Miantonomo, while a prisoner, excites our sympathy. His character was bold and lofty, and when compared with that of Uncas, may be said to be prepossessing. If sad necessity required the sacrifice, there seems a revolting obliquity in the manner of its accomplishment; but with the sober views before us which have been recited, we must not lightly indulge in censure. All the circumstances and considerations, which those venerable men have left on record, should be attentively and soberly examined and weighed, before judgment is pronounced.

Mr. Williams, at Providence, who was on very friendly terms with the Narragansetts, was peculiarly active and serviceable, in appeasing the storm which had arisen. [*Mather's Relation*, 35, 59. *Hubbard's Narrative*, 5, 6. *Hutch. Hist. of Mass.* I, 129—134. *Hazard's Coll.* II, 12, 13, 26, 29—30.]

ed by their own captain to forbear, he giving very provoking language, and also attempting to draw upon his captain; he took his rapier from him, and struck him on the head with the hilt, of which wound, three or four days after, he died. The captain was tried by a council of war, and acquitted by the largeness of his commission.*

This year Mr. Edward Winslow went for England, upon occasion that some discontented persons, under the government of the Massachusetts, sought to trouble their peace, and disturb, if not innovate their government, by laying many scandals upon them, and intended to prosecute against them in England, by petitioning and complaining to the parliament. Also Samuel Gorton and his company, made complaint against them; so as they made choice of Mr. Winslow to be their agent to make their defence, and gave him commission and instructions for that end, in which he so carried himself, as did well answer their ends, and cleared them from any blame and dishonour, to the shame of their adversaries. After this he

* The Earl of Warwick was Lord High Admiral. In the contest with Charles I, he was a Parliamentarian. A ship of war, of twenty-four guns, bearing his commission, arrived at Boston, in 1644, and captured a Bristol ship, then in the harbour, bound for Bilboa. The commission extended to all ships from Bristol, and other enumerated ports which adhered to the King. This capture gave rise to some critical and difficult questions, which were fully and acutely discussed, by the magistrates and elders of Massachusetts. In conclusion, "it was not thought fit to oppose the Parliament's commission, but to suffer the captain to enjoy his prize." [Winth. Journ. 343—346.]

In August, 1646, Stephen Painter, agent for the Earl of Warwick, writes to Governour Winthrop, from Somer's Islands, requesting his assistance in recovering the Admiral's share in the prizes taken by Captain Cromwell, and brought into some port in Massachusetts [Hutch. Coll. of Papers, 139.]

fell upon other employment in England, which detained him there, so as he returned not again to New-England any more, whose absence hath been much to the weakening of the government of New-Plimouth, who had large experience of his help and usefulness amongst them in government, &c. of whom I have more to insert, in honour of so worthy a gentleman, in its more proper place.*

* Upon examination of the views of the "discontented persons" mentioned in the Memorial, as disclosed in their proceedings, they do not appear so malignant, or unreasonable, as they were esteemed, when they were in agitation. Before the appeal to the Commissions for plantations in England, there was a petition to the General Court in Massachusetts, in behalf of the non-freemen, complaining, that the fundamental laws of England were not owned by the Colony as the basis of their government, according to patent; of the denial of civil privileges to such as were not members of churches; exclusion from Christian privileges, as the Lord's supper, and baptism for their children, unless they were members of some of the particular churches in the country, though otherwise not scandalous in life or conversation, and members of churches in England. They prayed that civil liberty and freedom might forthwith be granted to all truly English, and that all members of the church of England or Scotland, not scandalous, might be admitted to the privileges of the churches of New-England; or if these civil and religious liberties were refused, that they might be freed from the heavy taxes imposed upon them, and from impressment. The petition, and the declaration, or answer, of the Court, are preserved in Hutchinson's Collections of Papers, appended to his History of Massachusetts. Those who signed the petition in Massachusetts, were Robert Child, Thomas Fowle, Samuel Maverick, Thomas Barton, David Yale, John Dani, and John Smith. By a letter from Mr. Winslow to Governour Winthrop, preserved in the same Collection, it appears, that there was a simultaneous struggle for toleration in the Old Colony. This was probably promoted by Mr. William Vassall, then settled at Scituate. Child and Fowle went to England, to support the remonstrances of the Massachusetts petitioners. They had been harshly treated, but some of the remedies which they proposed for adoption in England, militated with the essential rights and interests of the Colonies, and excited just apprehension. Their applications were to the Commissioners for plantations, and to Parliament. "By Mr. Winslow's prudent management," says Governour Hutchinson, "and the credit and esteem he was in with many of the members of Parliament, and principal persons there in power, he prevented any prejudice to the Colony from either of these applications." [*Hutch. Hist. Mass.* I, 136—146. *Collect. of Papers*, 153—155, 188—200. *Neal's Hist. of New-Eng.* 233—239.]

1647.

MR. William Bradford was elected Governour of the jurisdiction of New-Plimouth. Mr. Edward Winslow, Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William Collier, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. John Brown, and Mr. William Thomas, were elected his assistants in government.

This year the whole land, but more especially the church and town of Hartford on Connecticut, sustained a great and more than ordinary loss, by the death of that most eminent servant of Jesus Christ, Mr. Thomas Hooker, who, in the month of July in this year, changed this life for a better; concerning whose piety, learning, and singular dexterity in preaching the Gospel with answerable success, the many souls wrought upon by his ministry, in both Old England and New, do give forth a large testimony; and withal, as an addition to the former, those learned and profitable works penned by him for the refutation of error, and guiding and confirming of the saints in the ways of Christ. In which respects, with others, his name will live and is embalmed; and doth remain, and will be as a precious ointment in the churches, and amongst the saints in present and future ages.

This special servant of Christ, as he served his Master with great zeal, love, wisdom, and sincerity, so he ended his life with much comfort and serenity; so as it is rare that was said of him, that the peace which he had in believing, thirty years before his death, was firm, and not touched by the adversary, until the pe-

riod of his life; and with much joy and peace in believing, he fell asleep in the Lord, and was honourably buried at Hartford on Connecticut.

In whose memorial, I shall here insert the funeral elegies of two eminent divines, written upon his death.

On my reverend and dear brother, Mr. Thomas Hooker, late pastor of the church at Hartford on Connecticut.

To see three things was holy Austin's wish,
Rome in her flower, Christ Jesus in the flesh,
And Paul i' the Pulpit: lately men might see,
Two first, and more, in Hooker's ministry.

Zion in beauty, is a fairer sight,
Than Rome in flower, with all her glory dight:
Yet Zion's beauty did most clearly shine
In Hooker's rule and doctrine; both divine.

Christ in the spirit is more than Christ in flesh,
Our souls to quicken, and our states to bless!
Yet Christ in spirit brake forth mightily,
In faithful Hooker's searching ministry.

Paul in the pulpit, Hooker could not reach,
Yet did he Christ in spirit so lively preach;
That living hearers thought he did inherit
A double portion of Paul's lively spirit.

Prudent in rule, in argument quick, full;
Fervent in prayer, in preaching powerful;
That well did learned Ames record bear,
The like to him he never wont to hear.

'Twas of Geneva's worthies said, with wonder,
(Those worthies three) Farell was wont to thunder;
Virèt, like rain, on tender grass to shower;
But Calvin, lively oracles to pour.

All these in Hooker's spirit did remain,
 A son of thunder, and a shower of rain,
 A pourer forth of lively oracles,
 In saving souls, the sum of miracles.

Now blessed Hooker, thou art set on high,
 Above the thankless world, and cloudy sky;
 Do thou of all thy labour reap the crown,
 Whilst we here reap the seed which thou hast sown.

J. C.*

A lamentation for the death of that precious and worthy minister of Jesus Christ, Mr. Thomas Hooker, who died July 7, 1647, as the sun was setting. The same hour of the day died blessed Calvin, that glorious light.

Come sighs, come sorrows, let's lament this rod,
 Which hath bereav'd us of this man of God:
 A man of God, who came from God to men,
 And now from them is gone to God again.
 Bid joy depart, bid merriment be gone;
 Bid friends stand by, sit sorrowful alone.
 But ah! what sorrow can be to suffice,
 Though heaven and earth were filled with our cries,
 The clouds were turned into drops of tears,
 The mourning for to last an age of years?
 'Twere all too little to lament his death,
 Whose life so precious was for heaven and earth.
 Job wish'd his day might quite forgotten be,
 Which brought him forth this world's light first to see.

* Mr. Hooker died at Hartford, of an epidemical fever, in the sixty-second year of his age. The elegiac lines, recited in the Memorial, were written by the Rev. John Cotton. A full account of Mr. Hooker is given in the *Magnalia*, with a tribute to his memory in Latin verse, by Mr. Elijah Corlet, an eminent school-master, at Cambridge. Mr. Hooker's writings were in such repute, that Mr. John Higginson, says Dr. O. Mather, transcribed from his manuscripts nearly two hundred sermons, which were sent to England for publication: "But by what means I know not," he adds, "scarce half of them have seen the light to this day."
 [Magnal. III, 57—61.]

O let not the day be number'd in th' year,
That took this light of our hemisphere.
A fatal day, a day of sad presage
To us survivors of this present age.
The hour of thy decease, when sun went down,
When light turn'd dark, when heavens began to frown;
'Tis ominous to us who saw his light,
That grace provok'd should turn our day to night;
And Gospel's light which shineth from on high,
Should clouded be, and darkened in our sky.
O happy days, when such lights shine on earth!
O bitter days, when they are hid beneath!
This is our grief, he who late shin'd on high,
Is hid in grave, and now beneath doth lie.
Let Hartford sigh, and say, *I've lost a treasure;*
Let all New-England mourn at God's displeasure,
In taking from us one more gracious
Than is the gold of Ophir precious.
Sweet was the savour which his grace did give,
It season'd all the place where he did live.
His name did as an ointment give its smell,
And all bear witness that it savour'd well.
Wisdom, love, meekness, friendly courtesy,
Each moral virtue, with rare piety,
Pure zeal, yet mixt with mildest clemency,
Did all conspire in this one breast to lie.
Deep was his knowledge, judgment was acute,
His doctrine solid, which none could confute.
To mind he gave light of intelligence,
And search'd the corners of the conscience.
To sinners stout, which no law could bring under,
To them he was a son of dreadful thunder,
When all strong oaks of Bashan us'd to quake,
And fear did Lebanon his cedars shake;
The stoutest hearts he filled full of fears,
He clave the rocks, they melted into tears.
Yet to sad souls, with sense of sin cast down,
He was a son of consolation.

Sweet peace he gave to such as were contrite;
 Their darkness sad he turn'd to joyous light.
 Of preaching he had learn'd the rightest art,
 To every one dividing his own part.
 Each ear that heard him said, *He spake to me:*
 So piercing was his holy ministry.
 His life did shine, time's changes stain'd it not,
 Envy itself could not there find a spot.
 Had he surviv'd to finish works begun,
 'T had been a blessing to all Christendom.
 Then should the world have known what God had show'd him,
 And what themselves for all his works had ow'd him.
 But this unthankful age is now cut short
 Of that rich treasure, 'cause they car'd not for't.
 O that his love may turn us, yet to prize
 The blessings yet enjoy'd; herein be wise;
 Lest that which he not long ago foretold,
 Be now in us fulfill'd as 'twas of old,
 That wantonness of churches, would bereave
 Them of their ministers, without their leave.
 God plaguing this his messenger's contempt,
 With this soul 'stroying plague and punishment.
 But whatsoever wrath doth us abide,
 Whatever plague for sin doth us betide;
 Yet thou, O blessed saint, art now at rest,
 I' th' bosom of thy Christ, which is the best;
 Bathing in rivers of divine pleasure,
 Which is at God's right hand, most sweet and pure;
 Tasting the fruit of all thy labours spent,
 To honour God, which was thy whole intent.
 From God thou camest forth, who sent thee hither,
 And now hath call'd thee back to live together.
 Him didst thou serve while life and breath did last,
 With him now blest, while life and breath is past.
 Sense of our loss would call thee back again.
 But out of love, we bid thee there remain,

Till we yet left behind our course fulfil,
 To meet thee on the top of Zion's hill;
 When thou and we shall both rejoice together,
 So fast united as no death shall sever;
 Both to sing praises to our heavenly King,
 Who hath us saved from death's poisonous sting,
 And will restore our bodies from the grave,
 Which them to dust of death consumed have;
 Making them shine like brightness of the sun
 With glory, ne'er to end when once begun.
 Let heaven and earth, angels and men him praise,
 Sounding his glory past all length of days.

P. B.*

1648.

THIS year Mr. William Bradford was elected Governour of the jurisdiction of New-Plimouth; and Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William Collier, Captain Miles Standish, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Mr. John Brown, and Mr. William Thomas, were chosen assistants to him in government.†

1649.

THIS year Mr. William Bradford was elected Governour of the jurisdiction of New-Plimouth. Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William Collier, Captain Miles Standish, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Mr. John Brown,

* These initials, probably, were meant to indicate the Rev. Peter Bulkley, first minister of Concord, "who wrote poems," says Dr. Eliot, "after he was above seventy-two, which have been praised by scholars of the next age." Dr. Mather has preserved, in the *Magnalia*, a Latin epigram, written by this eminent man about a year before his death, which Dr. Eliot has thought worthy of repetition.

† The synod which was convened in 1646, and had continued its meetings, by adjournments, was dissolved in this year. The Cambridge Platform of Church Discipline was composed and adopted by this assembly.

and Mr. William Thomas, were chosen his assistants in government.

This year Mr. John Winthrop, Governour of the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, deceased, the twenty-sixth day of March, about ten of the clock. He was singular for piety, wisdom, and of a public spirit. He brought over a great estate into the country, and partly by his liberality, and partly by the unfaithfulness of his baily, spent the most part of it; so as when he died, he was but low in that respect; and yet notwithstanding, very much honoured and beloved of the most, and continued in the place of governour, for the most part, until his death, which was much lamented by many. He was a man of unbiassed justice, patient in respect of personal wrongs and injuries, a great lover of the saints, especially able ministers of the Gospel; very sober in desiring, and temperate in improving earthly contentments; very humble, courteous, and studious of general good. His body was, with great solemnity and honour, buried at Boston, in New-England, the third of April, 1649.*

* Governour Winthrop died at the age of sixty-three. His life and character are ably delineated in the *American Biography*, [Vol. II, 337—358,] and by many other writers, who have been justly impressed with his worth and excellence. Upon the petition of Mr. Robert Child, and others, in 1645, [See p. 236, note] which he had zealously opposed, being then Deputy Governour, he was called upon to make his defence in open court, before a great assembly of people; his memorable speech, upon that occasion, is recorded in the *Magnalia*. It closes with the following observations, in which there is a dignity and truth of sentiment and expression, which would do honour to any public character of any age or country.

“Nor would I have you to mistake in the point of your own liberty. There is a liberty of corrupt nature, which is affected both by men and beasts, to do what they list; and this liberty is inconsistent with authority, impatient of all restraint: by this liberty *sumus omnes deteriores*: it is the grand enemy of truth and peace, and all the ordinances of God are against it. But there is a civil, a moral, a fede-

This year some part of the country was much troubled with innumerable hosts of caterpillars, which destroyed the fruits of the earth, in divers places, and did eat off the leaves of trees, so as they looked as bare as if it had been winter; and in some places did eat the leaves from off the pease straw, and did not eat the pease. It pleased God to give them a check, and a rebuke, so as they hurt but in some places, and of his goodness in a short time removed them.

This year, August 25, that faithful and eminent servant of Christ, Mr. Thomas Shepard, died, who was a soul-searching minister of the Gospel, and pastor of the church of Christ at Cambridge. By his death, not only that church and people, but also all New-England, sustained a very great loss. He not only preached the Gospel profitably and very successfully, but also hath left behind him divers worthy works of special use, in reference unto the clearing up the state of the soul to God ward; the benefit thereof, those can best experience, who are most conversant in the improvement of them, and have God's blessing on them

ral liberty, which is the proper end and object of authority. It is a liberty for that only which is just and good. For this liberty you are to stand with the hazard of your very lives, and whatsoever crosses it is not authority, but a distemper thereof. This liberty is maintained in a way of subjection to authority; and the authority set over you, will, in all administrations for your good, be quietly submitted unto by all but such as have a disposition to shake off the yoke, and lose their true liberty, by their murmuring at the honour and power of authority."

The result of the hearing was, says Dr. Mather, "that notwithstanding the touchy jealousy of the people about their liberties lay at the bottom of all this prosecution, yet Mr. Winthrop was publickly acquitted, — and the people would not afterwards entrust the helm of the weather-beaten bark in any other hands but Mr. Winthrop's, until he died."

[*Magnal.* II, 13.]

therein to their soul's good. His body was honourably buried at Cambridge in New-England.*

"Blessed are the dead, that die in the Lord, for their works do follow them." Rev. xiii, 13.

This year there passed an act of parliament in England, for the promoting and propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ amongst the Indians in New-England. In reference unto the furtherance and advancement of so good a work, a corporation of sixteen select men were appointed, consisting of a president, treasurer, and assistants, called by the name of the President and Society for the propagation of the Gospel in New-England; to receive such sums of money, as from time to time was, or should be collected and raised, by the liberal contributions of such as whose hearts God was pleased to stir up to so glorious a work. And it was by the same parliament enacted, that the commissioners for the united colonies of New-England, for the time being, by themselves or such as they shall appoint, shall have power and authority to receive and dispose of the said monies brought in and paid to the said treasurer for the time being; or any other monies, goods or commodities, acquired and delivered by the care of the said corporation at any time; whose receipt or receipts of such person or persons so author-

* Mr. Shepard arrived at Boston in 1635, and succeeded Mr. Hooker, at Newtown, (afterward Cambridge,) on the removal of Mr. Hooker to Connecticut. He died in the forty-fourth year of his age. "He was esteemed by his contemporaries," says Dr. Eliot, "among the first Divines in New-England, and his works are now read with sacred delight by many serious people." [*Biog. Dict.* 425. See also, *Magnal.* III, 84—93. *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.* VII, 42—47.]

ized by them, shall be a sufficient discharge to the said corporation and treasurer. The particulars of such orders and instructions, with which the said act is invested, the reader may be more amply satisfied in, by the perusal thereof, as it is extant, bearing date, July 27, 1649.

Moreover, let the reader take notice of the special favour of Almighty God, in moving the heart of the king's majesty, since his restitution to his crown and regal dignity, particularly of his royal favour to countenance this work, and to secure what hath been, and what may be given toward this work, by a legal settlement, which before was wanting; so as the said glorious design hath been vigorously carried on, both in Old England and in New, by such active and faithful instruments as God hath raised up and improved therein, with some considerable success. The work coming on to such perfection, as that the Holy Bible is translated and printed in the Indian language, whereby the glad tidings of the Gospel is, and may be communicated to them with the greater facility; some souls also of them being gained, as may be hoped, to believe on the Lord Jesus for life everlasting; and daily hopes of further and greater success in that behalf, for which unspeakable riches of his grace, let his holy name have all the praise throughout all ages.

The principal instruments improved in preaching the Gospel of Christ unto the Indians, are, Mr. John Eliot, sen. Mr. John Eliot, jun. Mr. Thomas Mayhew, Mr. Pierson, Mr. Brown, Mr. James, and Mr.

Cotton, besides divers of their own nation, whose names and number I know not.*

* The hearts of many pious and benevolent men, in this country and in England, had long been seriously impressed with the obligations expressed in the Massachusetts Charter, "to incite the natives of the country to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Saviour of mankind, and the Christian faith." The long neglect of any attempts for this purpose, says Governour Hutchinson, cannot be excused. The Indians themselves, he informs us, asked how it happened, if Christianity were of such importance, that for six and twenty years together, the English had said nothing to them about it. The reply to them was, that they were not willing to hear, and yet there were not wanting instances of docility which might afford encouragement of success. The Rev. John Eliot, justly styled the apostle of America, commenced the arduous employment, in 1646, at Nonantum, (Newtown,) and, soon afterward, began a lecture at Neponset, (Milton.) These hopeful beginnings were reported in England, and some brief, but interesting publications, comprising the religious conversation and confusion of the Indians, excited great attention. Contributions were made in both countries, for the purpose of more extended missions. Mr. Hazard has preserved in his Collections, a glowing address to the Parliament, by William Castell, parson of Courtenhall, in Northamptonshire, soliciting their countenance and assistance in propagating the Gospel in America, and "to be the happy instrument of effecting those often repeated promises of God, in making all nations blessed by the coming of Christ, and by sending his word to all lands." In New-England, Mr. Symonds, of Ipswich, a gentleman of rank and influence from Essex, in England, addressed a letter to Governour Winthrop, in 1646, in which he insists on what he considered to be the divine purposes in the settlement of New-England. The conversion of the natives to the Christian faith and practice, he mentions as one; "which mercy," he adds, "if attained in any considerable measure, will make us go singing to our graves." In the same year the General Court of Massachusetts passed the first act to encourage the Christianizing of the Indians, and recommended it to the elders to consider of the best means of accomplishing the design. Mr. Winslow was greatly instrumental in procuring collections in England, and in promoting the establishment of the Society mentioned in the text. Of the sixteen members mentioned in the act, five had been resident in New-England—Herbert Pelham, Richard Hutchinson, Robert Tomson, Richard Floyd, and Edward Winslow. The first President was William Steel, styled by Mr. Neal, Judge Steele, and the first Treasurer was Henry Ashurst. By authority of this act, a collection was made in all the parishes in England, and the amount was so considerable as to enable the Society to purchase an estate, yielding between five and six hundred pounds a year. Large contributions were also made for the same purpose in this country. The churches in Boston, alone, contributed nearly five hundred pounds. In 1651, the Indian church at Natick, was gathered by Mr. Eliot; and in 1660, there were ten towns of praying Indians, as they were denominated. Mr. Eliot's labours were principally confined to Massachusetts, but he occasionally visited the missionary

1650.

This year Mr. William Bradford was elected Governor of the jurisdiction of New-Plimouth. Mr. Edward Winslow, Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William

establishments in the Colony of Plymouth, and on Martha's Vineyard. Among his fellow labourers in this pious service, the two Mayhews, father and son, were most distinguished. The field of their exertions was Martha's Vineyard. John Eliot, jun. son of the apostle, was minister of Newtown, and assisted his father in his missionary employment. He died in 1668, in the thirty-third year of his age. The Rev. Abraham Pierson, was first settled at Southampton, on Long Island, in 1640; but afterward, in 1644, became the minister of Branford, in New-Haven colony, from whence he removed to New-Jersey, in 1665. Before his last removal, he preached to the Indians on Long Island, and in several plantations in the colony of New-Haven. He composed a catechism for their instruction, and received a compensation from the Commissioners of the United Colonies, for translating it into the Indian language. Mr. Thomas James is mentioned by Dr. Trumbull, as minister of Easthampton, in Long Island, in 1655. We find no other of the name so likely to be the person intended by Mr. Morton, though we find no account of his missionary labours. The Montauk Indians were in his neighbourhood. The Rev. John Cotton, of Plymouth, was a son of the celebrated divine of that name, in Boston. He settled in Plymouth in 1667. For three years, previously, he had preached to an English congregation, on Martha's Vineyard, and also to the Indians. He had a good acquaintance with the Indian language, and often preached to the natives in the vicinity of Plymouth, during his ministry in that town, which continued until 1697. We find no person of the name of Brown, who was employed in preaching to the Indians. It is conjectured, that, in this instance, there is an error of the press, and that Mr. Bourne is the missionary intended. Mr. Richard Bourne was so industrious and eminent in this employment, that it would be strange if Mr. Morton should omit to mention him, especially when the place of his residence, so near to Plymouth, is considered. He was among the first settlers of Sandwich. It is not ascertained at what time he became a religious teacher to the Indians. He collected the church at Mashpee; and the Rev. Mr. Hawley observes, that the first account of him is in 1658, when he was employed in settling a line between the Indian territories and Barnstable. He obtained a grant of the district of Mashpee, for the exclusive use of the Indians, in 1660, and was ordained pastor of the Indian church, at that place, in 1670. Mr. Eliot and Mr. Cotton assisted on that occasion, and messengers from the Indian church at Natick, and from the Vineyard, also attended. He died about the year 1683, and Simon Popmonet, an Indian, was his successor in the ministry, at Mashpee.

Upon the restoration, the existence and property of the Society for propagating the Gospel were thought to be in danger. But by the exertions and in-

Collier, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Mr. John Brown, and Mr. William Thomas, were chosen assistants to him in government.

This year there was more than ordinary mortality in the country, especially about Boston, and mostly amongst their children. (New diseases the fruits of new sins.) Since which time, several diseases have been in the country more frequently than formerly; as namely, gripings in the bowels, with violent vomiting and purging, which hath taken away many; as also a disease in the mouth or throat, which hath proved mortal to some in a very short time; as also great distempers of colds, &c. which ought to be awakening dispensations, together with others, to cause us to consider and examine whether we have not provoked the Lord with some general and un-

fluence of some good men, and especially of the celebrated Robert Boyle, a new Charter was obtained from King Charles II. Mr. Boyle was chosen Governour, and the Commissioners of the United Colonies were the correspondents of the Society, in New-England, until the dissolution of the Colony Charter, in 1686. "Perhaps no fund of this nature," says Gov. Hutchinson, "has ever been more faithfully applied to the purposes for which it was raised." Mr. Eliot, beside his assiduous labours in instructing the natives, and attending to their various interests, civil and temporal, as well as religious, was employed in translating many religious books for their use. In 1661, he published his translation of the New Testament. It was dedicated, by the Commissioners of the United Colonies, to Charles II, then just restored to the British throne. In 1663, this indefatigable man, produced what Mr. Allen justly styles "his immense work," the translation of the whole Bible. A second edition, revised by Mr. Cotton, of Plymouth, was published in 1685. All these works were printed at Cambridge. [*Magnal.* III, 190—200. *Neal's Hist. of New-Eng.* I, chap. 6. *Hutch. Hist. of Mass.* I, 150—157. *Cookin's Hist. Coll. of Indians in New-Eng.* *Coll. of Mass. Hist. Soc. I. Account of Rev. J. Eliot. Coll. of Mass. Hist. Soc. III. Hawley's Anecdotes. Hist. Coll. III, 188. Allen's Biog. Dict.* 480.]

For an abstract of Indian Churches and Converts, at different periods, see Appendix U.

wonted sins; inasmuch as he is pleased to exercise the country oftentimes with unwonted afflictions and punishments.

1651.

THIS year Mr. William Bradford was elected Governour of the jurisdiction of New-Plimouth. Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William Collier,* Captain Miles Standish, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Mr. John Brown, Mr. John Alden, and Captain Thomas Willet, were chosen his assistants in government.

This year Mr. William Thomas expired his natural life, in much peace and comfort. He served in the place of magistracy, in the jurisdiction of Plimouth, divers years; he was a well approved and a well grounded Christian, well read in the Holy Scriptures, and other approved authors, and a good lover and approver of godly ministers and good Christians, and one that had a sincere desire to promote the common good, both of church and state. He died of a consumption, and was honourably buried at Marshfield, in the jurisdiction of New-Plimouth.*

1652.

THIS year Mr. William Bradford was elected Governour of the jurisdiction of New-Plimouth; and Mr. Thomas Prince, Captain Miles Standish, Mr. Timothy

* Mr. Thomas was one of the merchant adventurers in England, connected with the Plymouth planters. He came into this country about the year 1630. He was chosen an assistant in 1642, and was re-elected to that office, annually, until his death. His son Nathaniel served in Philip's war, in 1675.

grandson

Hatherly, Mr. John Brown, Mr. John Alden, Captain Thomas Willet, and Lieut. Thomas Southworth, were chosen to be his assistants in government.

This year that blessed servant of God, Mr. John Cotton, died. He was sometimes preacher of God's word at Boston, in Lincolnshire, and from thence came over into New-England, in the year 1633, and was chosen teacher of the first church of Christ at Boston. (Of Mr. Cotton's life, Mr. Norton hath penned a book, whereunto I refer the reader for more full relation of the same.) For which function and office he was greatly enriched with gifts and abilities, being an able expounder and faithful applier of the word of God; furnished also with wisdom and prudence to go before the church, in the ordering of the affairs thereof; endowed also with meekness of spirit, whereby he was fitted to compose such differences as did at any time arise amongst them. He was very patient also in respect unto personal wrongs and injuries done unto himself, yea, towards his sharpest antagonists. An influence of good, not only flowed from him unto the church over whom he was set, but also into all the churches in New-England, as necessity required. About the time of his sickness, there appeared in the heavens, over New-England, a comet, giving a dim light; and so waxed dimmer and dimmer, until it became quite extinct and went out; which time of its being extinct, was soon after the time of the period of his life: It being a very signal testimony, that God had then removed a bright

star, a burning and a shining light out of the heaven of his church here, unto celestial glory above. He was buried at Boston, in New-England, with great honour and lamentation, in the year above written.

Upon whose never enough deplored death, were made these verses following:

A Funeral Elegy upon the death of the truly Reverend Mr. John Cotton, late teacher of the church of Christ at Boston, in New-England.

AND after Winthrop's, Hooker's, Shepherd's herse,
Doth Cotton's death call for a mourning verse?
Thy will be done. Yet Lord, who dealest thus,
Make this great death expedient for us.
Luther pull'd down the Pope, Calvin the Prelate slew:
Of Calvin's lapse, chief cure to Cotton's due.
Cotton, whose learning, temper, godliness,
The German Phoenix, lively did express.
Melancthon's all, may Luther's word but pass;
Melancthon's all, in our great Cotton was.
Than him in flesh, scarce dwelt a better one;
So great's our loss, when such a spirit's gone.
Whilst he was here, life was more life to me;
Now he is not, death hence less death shall be.
That comets, great men's deaths do oft forego,
This present comet doth too sadly show.
This prophet dead, yet must in's doctrine speak,
This comet saith, else must New-England break.
Whate'er it be, the heavens avert it far,
That meteors should succeed our greatest star.
In Boston's orb, Winthrop and Cotton were;
These lights extinct, dark is our hemisphere.
In Boston once how much shin'd of our glory,
We now lament, posterity will story.

Let Boston live, who had, and saw their worth;
 And did them honour, both in life and death.
 To him New-England trust in this distress,
 Who will not leave his exiles comfortless.

J. N.*

*Upon the tomb of the most Reverend Mr. John Cotton, late
 teacher of the church of Boston, in New-England.*

HERE lies magnanimous humility,
 Majesty, meekness, Christian apathy
 On soft affections; liberty in thrall;
 A noble spirit, servant unto all.
 Learning's great masterpiece; who yet could sit
 As a disciple at his scholar's feet.
 A simple serpent, or serpentine dove,
 Made up of wisdom, innocence and love,
 Neatness embroider'd with itself alone;
 And civils canonized in a gown:
 Embracing old and young, and low and high;
 Ethics embodied in divinity.
 Ambitious to be lowest, and to raise
 His brethren's honour on his own decays.
 Thus doth the sun retire into his bed,
 That being gone, the stars may shew their head.
 Could wound at argument without division;
 Cut to the quick, and yet make no incision;
 Ready to sacrifice domestic notions
 To churches peace and ministers devotions.
 Himself indeed (and singular in that)
 Whom all admired, he admired not.

* These initials probably indicate the Rev. John Norton, at that time minister of Ipswich, and who succeeded Mr. Cotton, as minister of the first church in Boston. Mr. Cotton died in the sixty-eighth year of his age. The descendants of this eminent man are numerous, "though no one of them," says Dr. Eliot, "has appeared equal to him in rich variety of learning and popular talents, yet several of them have been eminent preachers, and among the civilians of our country." Mr. Allen, in his Biographical Dictionary, gives a catalogue of his many publications.

Liv'd like an angel of a mortal birth,
 Convers'd in heaven while he was on earth:
 Though not, as Moses, radiant with light,
 Whose glory dazzled the beholders' sight;
 Yet so divinely beautify'd, you'd count
 He had been born and bred upon the mount.

- A living, breathing Bible; tables, where
- Both covenants at large engraven were;
- Gospel and law in 's heart had each its column,
- His head an index to the sacred volume.
- His very name a title page; and next,
- His life a commentary on the text.
- O what a monument of glorious worth,
- When in a new edition he comes forth,
- Without erratas, may we think he'll be,
- In leaves and covers of eternity!

A man of might at heavenly eloquence,
 To fix the ear and charm the conscience;
 As if Apollos were reviv'd in him,
 Or he had learned of a Seraphim.

Spake many tongues in one: one voice and sense
 Wrought joy and sorrow, fear and confidence.
 Rocks rent before him, blind received their sight;
 Souls levell'd to the dunghill, stood upright.
 Infernal furies burst with rage to see
 Their pris'ners captiv'd into liberty.
 A star, that in our eastern England rose,
 Thence hurry'd by the blast of stupid foes,
 Whose foggy darkness, and benumbed senses,
 Brook'd not his dazzling fervent influences.
 Thus did he move on earth from east to west;
 There he went down, and up to heaven for rest.
 Nor from himself, whilst living, doth he vary,
 His death hath made him an ubiquitary:
 Where is his sepulchre is hard to tell,
 Who in a thousand sepulchres doth dwell;
 (Their hearts, I mean, whom he hath left behind,)
 In them his sacred relique's now enshrin'd.

But let his mourning flock be comforted,
 Though Moses be, yet Joshua is not dead:
 I mean renowned Norton; worthy he
 Successor to our Moses is to be,
 O happy Israel in America,
 In such a Moses, such a Joshua.

B. W.³

1653.

THIS year Mr. William Bradford was elected Governour of the jurisdiction of New-Plimouth. Mr. Thomas Prince, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Mr. John Brown, Mr. John Alden, Capt. Thomas Willet, and Lieut. Thomas Southworth, were chosen his assistants in government.

Mr. Thomas Dudley, who was a principal founder and pillar of the colony of the Massachusetts, in New-England, and sundry times Governour and Deputy Governour of that jurisdiction, died at his house in Roxbury, July 31, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. He was a person of quick understanding, and solid judgment in the fear of the Lord. He was a lover of justice, order, the people, Christian religion, the supreme virtues of a good magistrate. 1. His love to justice appeared at all times, and in special upon

* This elegy was written by the Rev. Benjamin Woodbridge, D. D. the first graduate of Harvard College. He returned to England, and succeeded the Rev. Dr. Twiss, at Newbury. His professional and literary character and acquirements were in high estimation in both countries. The lines distinguished by asterisks, are quoted by Mr. Allen, in his biographical account of Mr. Cotton, with a conjecture, that they probably suggested to Dr. Franklin his celebrated epitaph upon himself. The coincidence of thought is, indeed, obvious; but it should not be thought strange, that the same idea should occur to two men of genius; and the typographical allusion, once occurring to the mind of the writer, would naturally be expanded by a reference to particulars, which would give strong features of similarity.

the judgment seat, without respect of persons in judgment; and in his own particular transactions with all men, he was *exact* and exemplary 2. His zeal to order appeared in contriving good laws, and faithfully executing them upon criminal offenders, heretics, and underminers of true religion. He had a piercing judgment to discover the wolf, though clothed with a sheep skin. 3. His love to the people was evident in serving them in a public capacity many years, at his own cost, and that as a nursing father to the churches of Christ. 4. He loved the true Christian religion, and the pure worship of God, and cherished, as in his bosom, all godly ministers and Christians. He was exact in the practice of piety, in his person and family, all his life. In a word, he lived desired, and died lamented by all good men.

. The verses following were found in his pocket after his death, which may further illustrate his character, and give a taste of his poetical fancy; wherein, it is said, he did excel.

Dim eyes, deaf ears, cold stomach shew
My dissolution is in view;
Eleven times seven near lived have I,
And now God calls, I willing die:
My shuttle's shot, my race is run,
My sun is set, my deed is done;
My span is measur'd, tale is told,
My flower is faded and grown old,
My dream is vanish'd, shadow's fled,
My soul with Christ, my body dead;
Farewell dear wife, children, and friends,
Hate heresy, make blessed ends;

Bear poverty, live with good men,
So shall we meet with joy again.

Let men of God in courts and churches watch
O'er such as do a toleration hatch;
Lest that ill egg bring forth a cockatrice,
To poison all with heresy and vice.
If men be left, and otherwise combine,
My epitaph's, *I dy'd no libertinc.**

This year Mr. John Laythrop did put off his earthly tabernacle. He was sometimes preacher of God's word in Egerton in Kent, from whence he went to London, and was chosen pastor of a church there. He was greatly troubled, and imprisoned, for witnessing against the errours of the times. During the time of his imprisonment, his wife fell sick, of which sickness she died. He procured liberty of the Bishop to visit his wife before her death, and commended her to God by prayer, who soon after gave up the ghost. At his return to prison, his poor children, being many, repaired to the Bishop to Lambeth, and made known unto him their miserable condition, by reason of their good father, his being continued in close durance; who

* Mr. Dudley came over in the *Arabella*, in 1630, and was then Deputy Governor. His firm and robust constitution and vigorous mind, and his civil and military accomplishments, rendered him conspicuously useful in the arduous enterprize in which he and his associates were engaged. He should be remembered and mentioned with reverence and esteem, though there may be some features of undue severity in his character. "With strong passions," says the Rev. Dr. Holmes, "he was still placable and generous." In his dread of toleration, he was far from being alone; it was the prevailing temper of the age. The *simple cobbler of Agauam*, with all its pleasantry, abounds in the sharp spirit of rebuke, of all *opinionists*. "*Religio docenda est, non coercenda*," says this pungent writer, "is a pretty piece of *album latinum*, for some kind of throats; that are willingly sore; but *hæresis dedocenda est, non permittenda*, will be found a far better *dis-moron* for the gargarisms this age wants, if timely and thoroughly applied."

commiserated their condition so far, as to grant him liberty, who soon after came over into New-England, and settled for some time at the town of Scituate, and was chosen pastor of their church, and faithfully dispensing the word of God amongst them. And afterwards, the church dividing, a part whereof removed to Barnstable, he removed with them, and there remained until his death. He was a man of a humble and broken heart and spirit, lively in dispensation of the word of God, studious of peace, furnished with godly contentment, willing to spend, and to be spent, for the cause of the church of Christ. He fell asleep in the Lord, November 9, 1653.*

1654.

This year Mr. William Bradford was elected Governour of the jurisdiction of New-Plimouth. Mr. Thomas Prince, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. William

* The Rev. John Lothrop, (as the name is written by himself,) arrived at Boston in 1634, and, soon afterward, settled in the ministry at Scituate. His removal to Barnstable was in 1639. He was twice married. Four sons came with him from England; Thomas, who settled in Barnstable; Samuel, at Norwich; Joseph, at Barnstable; and Benjamin, at Charlestown. Barnabas and John, who were born in this country, settled in Barnstable. From Thomas, the eldest son, those of the name of Lothrop, in Plymouth and that vicinity, trace their descent. From Samuel, the second son, the numerous families of the name, in Connecticut, New-York, and Vermont, are derived. The families in Barnstable descended from Joseph, Barnabas, and John. Those in Essex county are supposed to have sprung from Benjamin, who settled in Charlestown.

The Rev. Dr. Lathrop, of Boston, compiled an accurate memoir of his great grandfather, (the Rev. John Lothrop, of Barnstable,) which is published in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Vol. I, second series, and from which the information, given in this note, has been collected. The two letters given in that memoir, were found among the Winslow papers, at Marshfield, in 1792, by the Editor of this work, and presented to his esteemed friend, the late Isaac Lothrop, Esq. of Plymouth, who received them with peculiar satisfaction, as valuable memorials of his venerable ancestor.

Collier, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Mr. John Brown, Mr. John Alden, and Capt. Thomas Willet, were chosen assistants to him in government.*

1655.

This year Mr. William Bradford was elected Governor of the jurisdiction of New-Plimouth; and Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. William Collier, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. John Brown, Mr. John Alden, and Capt. Thomas Willet, were chosen assistants to him in government.

This year that worthy and honourable gentleman, Mr. Edward Winslow, deceased; of whom I have had

* Great offence was given this year by Massachusetts, from their backwardness in the war against Ninigret, Sachem of the Nianticks, who threatened the extirpation of the Long-Island Indians, and disregarded the interference of the English in Connecticut, who had taken the Long-Island Indians under their protection. In the preceding year, Massachusetts had prevented a war with the Dutch, on which all the Commissioners, excepting Mr. Bradstreet, from Massachusetts, had determined.

————— “*utilius bellum putat esse minari,
Quam gerere, atque suas ibi præconsumere vires.*”

Dr. Trumbull very pointedly censures the proceedings of Massachusetts in these instances. In regard to the controversy with the Dutch, Mr. Norris, teacher of the church at Salem, “in the name of many pensive hearts there,” presented their opinion to the Commissioners, in favour of a war; but the General Court of Massachusetts sent in their declaration, that no determination of the Commissioners should bind them to join in an offensive war, which should appear to them unjust. This appeared to the associate communities to be a breach of the articles of confederacy; and such altercations ensued as threatened the dissolution of the union. The controversy on this subject, may be seen in the Transactions of the Commissioners, in Hazard’s Collections.

Governour Hutchinson, speaking of the conduct of Massachusetts, relative to the expedition against Ninigret, observes, “this was the second time of their preventing a general war, contrary to the minds of six of the Commissioners of the other Colonies.”

occasion to make honourable mention formerly in this discourse. He was the son of Edward Winslow, Esq. of the town of Draughtwich,* in the county of Worcester. He, travelling into the low countries, in his journeys fell into acquaintance with the church of Leyden, in Holland, unto whom he joined, and with whom he continued until they parted to come into New-England, he coming with that part that came first over, and became a very worthy and useful instrument amongst them, both in place of government and otherwise, until his last voyage for England, being sent on special employment for the government of the Massachusetts, as is aforementioned in this book; and afterwards was employed as one of the grand commissioners in that unhappy design against Domingo in Hispaniola, who taking grief for the ill success of that enterprize, on which, together with some other infirmities that were upon him, he fell sick at sea, betwixt Domingo and Jamaica, and died the eighth day of May, which was about the sixty-first year of his life, and his body was honourably committed to the sea, with the usual solemnity of the discharge of forty-two pieces of ordnance.

One of the company, who was employed in taking notice of the particulars of that tragedy, gave such testimony of the said Mr. Winslow, as followeth in this poem.

The eighth of May, west from 'Spaniola shore,
God took from us our grand commissioner,
Winslow by name, a man of chiefest trust,
Whose life was sweet, and conversation just;

* Droitwich.

Whose parts and wisdom most men did excel;
An honour to his place, as all can tell.*

1656.

MR. William Bradford was chosen Governour of the jurisdiction of New-Plimouth. Mr. Thomas Prince,

* In the expedition against Hispaniola, prompted by the cupidity and ambition of Cromwell, Admiral Penn had the command of the fleet; General Venable of the troops. Three Commissioners attended the expedition, of whom Mr. Winslow was chief. In their attack on St. Domingo, they were defeated with great loss. Jamaica surrendered without resistance. In the preceding year, Mr. Winslow was appointed one of the Commissioners, to determine the value of the English ships, seized and detained by the King of Denmark, and for which Holland was to make restitution, by the treaty of peace, concluded with the Protector, April 5, 1654. The commission is preserved at the family seat, in Marshfield. A representation of the Protector is included in the first letter. The Commissioners were required to meet at Goldsmith's hall, London, in the month of June; and in case they should not agree by a certain day in August, were to be shut up in a chamber, without fire, candles, meat or drink, or any other refreshment, until they should agree. The *New-England's Memorial*, and our whole early history, bear testimony to the energy, activity, and well directed exertions of Edward Winslow. His writings will be read, with pleasure, by all who feel an interest in the subject, and have a relish for simplicity and truth. His *Good News from New-England*, published in London, in 1624, is a very rare work. The Massachusetts Historical Society has not been able to procure a copy of it. An abbreviation of it is in Purchas' Pilgrims, part iv, and is re-published in the eighth volume of the Historical Collections. His account of the natives of New-England, annexed to that tract, is inserted entire in the appendix to Belknap's Biography, Vol. II.

Governour Winslow's settlement, in this country, was at Marshfield, where he had a valuable tract of land. To this residence he gave the name of *Careswell*, from a castle and seat of that name in Staffordshire, as Dr. Belknap conjectures. The estate still remains in the family, and is now owned by Dr. Isaac Winslow, son of General John Winslow; who was a great grandson of Edward. A fine portrait of his renowned ancestor is in the possession of Dr. Winslow.

Edward Winslow had four brothers, John, Kenelm, Gilbert, and Josias; and three sisters, Eleanor, Elizabeth, and Maydelon. Gilbert accompanied his brother, and arrived in the *May-Flower*, in 1620. John came the next year, in the *Fortune*. We find his name in the Plymouth tax list of 1633, [*Hazard's Coll.* I, 326,] and also that of Kenelm Winslow. John Winslow afterwards removed to Boston, according to information received from Dr. Winslow. Josias also, the youngest brother, came into this country. One of the brothers settled at Rochester, one at Cape Cod, and another at Portsmouth, (N. H.) See Appendix V

Mr. William Collier, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Capt. Miles Standish, Mr. John Alden, Capt. Thomas Willet, and Capt. James Cudworth, were chosen his assistants in government.

This year Captain Miles Standish expired his mortal life. He was a gentleman, born in Lancashire, and was heir apparent unto a great estate of lands and livings, surreptitiously detained from him; his great grandfather being a second or younger brother from the house of Standish. In his younger time he went over into the low countries, and was a soldier there, and came acquainted with the church at Leyden, and came over into New England, with such of them as at the first set out for the planting of the plantation of New-Plimouth, and bare a deep share of their first difficulties, and was always very faithful to their interest. He growing ancient, became sick of the stone, or strangury, whereof, after his suffering of much dolorous pain, he fell asleep in the Lord, and was honourably buried at Duxbury.*

* Captain Standish was one of the first settlers of Duxbury, but resided occasionally at Plymouth, especially in the winter months. Dr. Belknap, in his life of this primitive hero, observes, that we have no particular account of him after his seizure of T. Morton, at Merrymount, in 1628, and that he is not mentioned in the account of the Pequot war, of 1637. Had the Plymouth troops, which were in preparation at that crisis, been employed, there is no doubt Standish would have been at their head: but, as is related, p. 188. their march was countermanded. In 1643, when warlike movements were commenced against the Narragansetts, Standish commanded the Plymouth troops. [p. 233, note.] In 1653, when hostilities with the Dutch, at Manhattan, were apprehended, a council of war was appointed in Plymouth Colony, of which Standish was one. Warrants were issued for the impressment of sixty men, and Standish was appointed to command them. It thus appears, that he continued active in military employments, on every necessary occasion, until within three years of his death. He was uniformly one of the board of assistants. After the loss of his wife, in 1626—1, he soon married again. In the assignment of lands, in 1623, the name

1657.

THIS year Mr. Thomas Prince was chosen Governour of the jurisdiction of New-Plimouth. Mr. William

of Mrs. Standish is on the list; we know not the previous name of the lady, but it appears she came in the ship *Ann*. In 1627, when the cattle were divided, he stands at the head of the third lot, with his wife Barbara. Charles, Alexander, and John, his children, are associated with him in that assignment. Alexander married Sarah Alden, daughter of John Alden. Dr. Belknap informs us, that Dr. Wheelock, President of Dartmouth College, and Dr. Kirkland, President of Harvard College, are descended from him. In the Cabinet of the Massachusetts Historical Society are exhibited the swords of Standish, Carver, and Brewster. The possession would be more precious, if their identity were more satisfactorily ascertained.

The Rev. Timothy Alden, jun. in his Collection of Epitaphs, [Vol. III, 265,] gives an amusing traditionary anecdote, relative to the connubial pursuits of Captain Standish, and his friend John Alden. The lady who had gained the affections of the Captain, ~~and Standish~~ is said to have been Priscilla Mullins, daughter of William Mullins. John Alden was sent to make proposals in behalf of Standish. The messenger, though a pilgrim, was then young and comely, and the lady, with perfect naïveté, expressed her preference, by the question—*Prishee, John, why do you not speak for yourself?* The Captain's hopes were blasted, and the frank overture soon ended in the marriage of John Alden and Priscilla Mullens, from whom, we are informed, are descended "all of the name, Alden, in the United States." The Captain, it is added, never forgave his friend Alden to the day of his death. As he was, so soon afterward, united to another lady of his choice, we may hope that the traditionary account of his inveterate resentment is exaggerated. Their long connexion together at the board of assistants, their settlement in the same neighbourhood, and their family connexion, by the intermarriage of their children, would lead us to presume that they lived in habits of friendship. This anecdote has often been repeated in the old Colony, in fire-side chat about the pilgrims, but with circumstances which would refer the incident to a later period.

Dr. Belknap gives us many respectable names of the honourable house from which Miles Standish descended, beginning with Henry Standish, D. D. Bishop of St. Asaph, in the reign of Henry VIII. In the account of Duxbury, [*Hist. Coll.* II, 4,] the name of the town is supposed to have been assumed, by its first settlers, in allusion to their captain or leader. This appears questionable. The compliment would have been merited, but it is doubtful whether, among such a people, it would have been proposed or admitted. In *Ancient Vestiges*, (the Manuscript mentioned in the note p. 226,) there is this remark; "So late as 1707, I find that Sir Thomas Standish lived at *Duxbury*, the name of the family seat in Lancashire."

The name of Standish continues in the towns of Halifax, Plimpton, Middleborough, and Pembroke.

Collier, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Mr. John Alden, Capt. Thomas Willet, Capt. James Cudworth, Capt. Josiah Winslow, and Lieut. Thomas Southworth, were chosen his assistants in government.

This year it pleased God to put a period to the life of his precious servant, Mr. William Bradford, who was the second Governour of the jurisdiction of Plimouth, and continued in the same place for the most part of his time, with little intermission. Concerning whom the following poems made, the one by himself, and the other by such as were well acquainted with his worth and excellency, will give a large testimony thereof.

Certain verses left by the honoured William Bradford, Esq. Governour of the jurisdiction of Plimouth, penned by his own hand, declaring the gracious dispensations of God's providence towards him in the time of his life, and his preparation and fittedness for death.

FROM my years young in days of youth,
 God did make known to me his truth,
 And call'd me from my native place
 For to enjoy the means of grace.
 In wilderness he did me guide,
 And in strange lands for me provide.
 In fears and wants, through weal and woe,
 A pilgrim, past I to and fro:
 Oft left of them whom I did trust;
 How vain it is to rest on dust!
 A man of sorrows I have been,
 And many changes I have seen.
 Wars, wants, peace, plenty, have I known;
 And some advanc'd, others thrown down.
 The humble poor, cheerful and glad;
 Rich, discontent, sower and sad:

When fears and sorrows have been mixt,
 Consolations came betwixt.
 Faint not, poor soul, in God still trust,
 Fear not the things thou suffer must;
 For, whom he loves he doth chastise,
 And then all tears wipes from their eyes.
 Farewell, dear children, whom I love,
 Your better Father is above:
 When I am gone, he can supply;
 To him I leave you when I die.
 Fear him in truth, walk in his ways,
 And he will bless you all your days.
 My days are spent, old age is come,
 My strength it fails, my glass near run:
 Now I will wait, when work is done,
 Until my happy change shall come,
 When from my labours I shall rest,
 With Christ above for to be blest.

*By the honoured Major Josias Winslow, on the said Mr. William
 Bradford, as followeth:*

WILLIAM BRADFORD. Anagr.

*I made law for bridl'.
 For law I made bridl'.*^{*}

SEE how God honoured bath this worthy's name,
 To make it spell his virtue, and proclaim
 His rare endowments, us'd for God and us:
 Now such as honour God, he'll honour thus.

^{*} "There is a certain little sport of wit," says Dr. C. Mather, "in anagrammatizing the names of men, which was used as long ago, at least, as the days of old Lycophrone." Our ancestors often indulged in this amusement, which modern refinement cannot well endure. It was according to the taste of the age, and we find abundant examples of this species of wit, in the English, and other European writers, at that period. The Rev. Mr. Wilson was celebrated in this art; "who, with his quick turns," says Dr. Mather, "upon the names of his

Both just and gentle, merciful and just;
 And yet a man, and yet compos'd of dust!
 Yes, God within these slender walls can find
 A noble, virtuous, studious, active mind.

God was the guider of his childhood, youth;
 God did preserve him ever in the truth,
 And gave him grace to own him when but young,
 Who afterward he made a champion strong,

For to defend his people, and his cause;
 By wisdom, justice, prudence, and by laws;

friends, would ordinarily *fetch*, and, rather than lose, would even *force* devout instructions out of his anagrams."

Governor Dudley had an anagram sent to him in 1645, by an unknown hand, which might have seriously discomposed a man of less firmness.

Thomas Dudley,

— — — — —
 Ah! old must dye. [*Allen's Amer. Epit.* III, 49.]

The Governor, however, survived the solemn warning nearly ten years. The finest and happiest anagram, says Dr. Rees, is that on the question put by Plato to Jesus Christ, *Quid est veritas?* which makes, anagrammatically, *Est veritas quæ adest*. The anagram here, adds the author, is the best and happiest answer that could possibly be given. Camden, in his *Remaines*, a book probably familiar to our ancestors, has a learned section upon anagrams, and cites numerous examples in various languages. "Our English names," he observes, "running rough with ragged consonants, are not so smooth and easy for transposition, as the French and Italian." This difficulty seems to have been experienced by the worthy author of the anagram on Governor Bradford, which is not distinguished for pertinence or significance. The acrostic is another species of false wit, nearly allied to the anagram, which has also had its day. It is hoped that the few examples, in this Memorial, will not induce any one to attempt a revival of the manufacture. Many may find it easy to equal or exceed their ancestors in poetry; but productions encouraged by such comparisons, should be divulged with caution. The signs of the times are to be studied. In poetry, music, painting, and public discourses, says Bruyere, mediocrity is insupportable. This rigid canon is continually gaining adherents. The rude rhymes of the pilgrims will find a ready apology, with all who consider their circumstances, and the literature of the age. Ample compensation for any literary defects will be found in the history of their lives. "Hilberto," says Camden, "will our sparkfied youth laugh at their great-grandfather English, who had more care to do well than to speak minionlike; and left more glory to us by their employing of great acts than we shall do by our forging of new words, and uncouth phrases."

And, most of all, by his own good example,
A pattern fit to imitate most ample.

If we should trace him from the first, we find
He flies his country, leaves his friends behind,
To follow God, and to profess his ways,
And here encounters hardships many days.

He is content, with Moses, if God please,
Renouncing honour, profit, pleasure, ease,
To suffer tossings, and unsettlements,
And if their rage doth rise, to banishments.

He weighs it not, so he may still preserve
His conscience clear, and with God's people serve
Him freely, 'cording to his mind and will,
If not in one place, he'll go forward still.

If God have work for him in th' ends of th' earth,
Safe, danger, hunger, colds, nor any dearth;
A howling wilderness, nor savage men,
Discourage him, he'll follow God again:

And how God hath made him an instrument
To us of quiet, peace and settlement;
I need not speak; the eldest, youngest know,
God honour'd him with greater work than so.

To sum up all, in this he still went hence,
This man was wholly God's: his recompense
Remains beyond expression, and he is
Gone to possess it in eternal bliss.

He's happy, happy thrice; unhappy we
That still remain more changes here to see:
Let's not lament that God hath taken him
From troubles hence, in seas of joys to swim.

Let's not lament his gracious life is ended,
And he to life of glory is attended;

Nor let us grieve that now God's work is done,
In making him a happy blessed one.

But let's bewail that we have so neglected
Duty to God, or men have disrespected;
With earnest lamentations let's lament;
And, whilst we may, let's seriously repent.

That we have not improved as we might,
For God, and for ourselves, this worthy wight;
And now that God hath Moses tak'n away,
Let's pray that he would give us Joshua;

To go before the camp, and to subdue
God's and his people's foes, whatever crew
Oppose our journeys to that land of rest,
Which 'till obtain'd, we're never truly blest.

And for our better progress in this course,
Let now our great necessity enforce
Each man to study peace, and to improve
His greatest strengt^h to re-unite. in love,
The hearts and the affections of us all,
Lest by our faults, God's work to th' ground should fall.

Why mourns the people thus for me, since I
In heavens dwell, shall to eternity?
Let not so many tears fall from my friends;
Live holy, happy, God will recompense
Into your bosoms all your love again,
And your affections whilst I did remain
Amongst you, but now you must refrain.

Beare up your hearts, dear hearts, when thoughts of me
Run in your minds, with this the time will be,
And every hour brings it on apace,
Dear friends, when we for ever shall embrace,
Farewell but for a season then, farewell;
Our next embraces shall the rest excel,
Rest happy, children, friends, and tender wife,
Death but begins the godly's happy life.

*A few verses more, added by one that was well acquainted with
the worth of the said Mr. William Bradford.*

THE ninth of May, about nine of the clock,
A precious one God out of Plimouth took;
Governour Bradford then expir'd his breath,
Was call'd away by force of cruel death.
A man approv'd in town, in church, in court,
Who so behav'd himself in godly sort,
For the full space of thirty-seven years,
As he was means of turning many fears
Away from thee, poor Plimouth, where he spent
The better part of time that God him lent.
Well skill'd he was in regulating laws,
So as by law he could defend the cause
Of poor distressed plaintiff, when he brought
His case before him, and for help besought.
Above all other men he loved those
Who Gospel truths most faithfully uncloze,
Who were with grace and learning fully fraught,
Such as laboriously the Gospel taught.
Willing also to own, in his due place,
The meanest saint, expressing gifts of grace.
Sweet Brewster, he is gone some time before;
Wise Winslow, whose death we lament so sore;
And faithful Standish, freed from horrid pain,
To be with Christ, in truth, the greatest gain:
Now blessed, holy Bradford, a successor
Of blessed, holy Bradford, the confessor,
Is gone to place of rest, with many more
Of precious ones, whom I might name, great store;
And commendation of each one have given;
But what needs that? their names are writ in heaven,
And now, dear Lord, let us our time improve,
To be with thee in prayer much above.
O save thy people; help in time of need;
When all means fail, be thou in room and stead,

Of other helps, who fail when needed most;
 When greatest need, they then give up the ghost.
 And let thy servants their time still employ,
 That in the end they may attain such joy
 As may a fruit of true believing be,
 That we with Christ may reign eternally.

This worthy gentleman was interred with the greatest solemnities that the jurisdiction to which he belonged was in a capacity to perform, many deep sighs, as well as loud volleys of shot, declaring that the people were no less sensible of their own loss, who were surviving, than mindful of the worth and honour of him that was deceased.* You might now easily discern a heavy heart in the mournful countenance of every sober minded and considerate man; for as you have heard, in the three or four years last past, God was pleased greatly

* Governour Bradford died, May 9, 1657, in the sixty-ninth year of his age; "lamented," says Dr. C. Mather, "by all the Colonies of New-England, as a common father to them all." His talents, *well-tempered spirit*, and acquirements, are celebrated by the same learned author. The Dutch tongue, he observes, was almost as vernacular to him as the English. "The French tongue he could also manage; the Latin and the Greek he had mastered, but the Hebrew he most of all studied, because, he said, he would see, with his own eyes, the ancient Oracles of God in their native beauty." [Magnal. II, 5.]

From the document relative to the division of estate, in 1627, we find that Governour Bradford had then two children, William and Mercy. His widow, Alice, lived till 1670. His son William, became Deputy Governour of the Colony, and died, February 20, 1703—4, aged seventy-nine years. His tombstone, in Plymouth burying-ground, indicates the place where the Governour was interred. The aged Mr. Cobb, mentioned in page 228, *note*, remembered the funeral of the Deputy Governour. The body was brought to the burial place, from the family residence, near Jones river, with extreme difficulty, in consequence of a deep snow, in compliance with a wish expressed by the deceased to be laid near the body of his father. This gentleman left a numerous family, nine sons and three daughters. One of his sons and two of his grandsons were counsellors of Massachusetts. That excellent man, the late Hon. William Bradford, of Bristol, (R. I.) was one of his descendants. Several of this name and race might be mentioned, who are mindful of their sires, and emulate their virtues.

to weaken this poor tottering colony of Plimouth, by taking away several of the most useful props thereof, both in church and civil state; some others, who had been of singular use, now stooping under the infirmities of old age, could not be so serviceable as in times past; and others removed so far from the centre of the government, that they could not, without great difficulties, attend their public concerns, nor could possibly so constantly as our necessities required, which did greatly aggravate our troubles; we were become weak when we had need of the greatest strength; had lost many of our chieftains, when we stood in need of the best conduct and guidance. For, besides the troubles and changes that attended our native country, and might call for great circumspection in our walking in relation unto them; we had also, at this very time, some amongst us, that growing weary of the long peace and concord we enjoyed, and hoping to fish better in troubled waters, when their bait might be taken in, and the hook not easily discerned, would willingly have been ringing the changes in this jurisdiction; also pretending a great zeal for liberty of conscience, but endeavouring to introduce such a liberty of will as would have proved prejudicial, if not destructive, to civil and church societies; and at the same time there arrived in the said colony many of that pernicious sect called Quakers, whose opinions are a composition of many errors, and whose practices tend greatly to the disturbance both of church and state; many unstable people amongst us were leavened with their errors, and proved very troublesome to

this as well as other colonies in New-England.* But the Lord many times delighteth to appear in the mount of his people's miseries, distresses and troubles, that his power and wisdom may appear when they are weakest, and that they may know that their salvation is from him. At such a time, and when the condition of this colony was such as hath been declared, God was pleased to mind it, even in its low estate, and when he had taken to himself not only our Moses, but many of the elders and worthies of our Israel, he hath not hitherto left us without a Joshua, to lead us in the remaining part of our pilgrimage. When the usual time for the renewing of our election, of such as should govern us, came, Mr. Thomas Prince was, by a unanimous vote, chosen Governour; and although men's spirits were so distempered, as I have related, and it might have been expected that they would have been much divided in their choice; yet God, who disposeth the lot that is cast into the lap, so disposed that all their votes centered there; a good demonstration that he was chosen of God for us, and by his blessing made an instrument of much peace and settlement in this place, and to this people, in these times of trouble and confusion. The Lord also directing the freemen of this

* The sect of Quakers were, at that time, of recent date. George Fox, their founder, began to preach in 1647; his followers received the name of Quakers in 1650. Their first appearance in Massachusetts, was at Boston, in July, 1656. Mary Fisher and Ann Austin, both of that denomination, then arrived at Boston, from Barbadoes; and, about a month afterward, eight more came into that Colony from Rhode-Island. The extravagancies in those early times, of some of the members of this sect, which has now obtained the more acceptable appellation of Friends, will offer some apology for the severe treatment which they experienced, both in England and in America. It must be admitted, however, that the punishment was too often disproportionate to the offence.

jurisdiction, at the same time, in their election, to the choice of a discreet and able council, to be assistant unto our said honoured Governour, in this so weighty a work, divers of them being descended of several of the honoured magistrates deceased; not only bearing their names, but having a large measure of their spirit bestowed on them, befitting them for such work, so as through the goodness of God, those storms that seemed to threaten the subversion of our all, and did at first prevail, to the disturbing and shaking of many towns and churches, and to the great discouragement of the ministers in divers places, do seem to be pretty well blown over; such uncomfortable jars, as have been sometimes thought uncurable, seem to be thoroughly reconciled and healed; our towns, for the most part, supplied with godly and able ministers, and we sit under our vines and figtrees in peace, enjoying both civil and religious liberties; for which goodness of the Lord, let his holy name be praised; and may he grant us so to improve our present opportunities, as he may have some suitable returns, and we may have cause to hope in his grace for the continuance of such favours.

This year that much honoured and worthy gentleman, Mr. Theophilus Eaton, Governour of New Haven, deceased, who was very eminent, both on a religious and civil account. His death proved a great blow to that jurisdiction, and was seconded, not long after, with the loss of another precious man amongst them, viz. Mr. Francis Newman.*

* Mr. Eaton was from Oxfordshire, the son of a minister at Stony Stratford. He was a merchant of great business and respectability in his native country, and

In this year, 1657, in the month of November, Mr. Garret set sail on a voyage for England, from Boston; in whose ship. amongst many considerable passengers, there went Mr. Thomas Mayhew, jun. of Martin's Vineyard, who was a very precious man. He was well skilled, and had attained to a great proficiency in the Indian language, and had a great propensity upon his spirit to promote God's glory in their conversion, whose labours God blessed for the doing of much good amongst them; in which respect he was very much missed amongst them, and bewailed by them, as also in reference unto the preaching of God's word amongst the English there. The loss of him was very great. Ma-

sometime Deputy Governour of the East-India Company. He was one of the original patentees of Massachusetts, and soon after his arrival at Boston, in 1637, was chosen one of the magistrates of the Colony. He was one of the founders of New-Haven, and was annually elected Governour until his death. His family was numerous, sometimes containing not less than thirty persons, and was governed with singular good order and regularity. He died in the sixty-seventh year of his age. A handsome monument was erected to his memory, at the public expense, which is still in good preservation; the following lines are inscribed upon it:

Eaton, so meek, so wise, so fam'd, so just,
The Phoenix of our world here hides his dust,
His name forget, New-England never must.

[*Trumb. Connec. I, 240.*]

Governour Hopkins of Connecticut, son-in-law of Governour Eaton, died about the same time, in England. To this gentleman, New-England is indebted for his liberal bequests. His whole estate in this country, which was very considerable, was given away to charitable purposes. [*Trumb. Conn. I, 241.*]

Francis Newman, was many years Secretary of the Colony of New-Haven, under the administration of Governour Eaton, and was chosen Governour after the death of that gentleman. On the dispute with the Dutch, in 1653, he, with Capt. John Leverett, and Mr. William Davis, from Massachusetts, were appointed by the Commissioners of the United Colonies, to confer with Governour Stuyvesant, and require satisfaction for alleged injuries. He was afterward one of the board of Commissioners. He died in 1661. [*Trumb. Connec. I, 251. Eliot's Biog Dict. 334.*]

ny other sad losses befel sundry others in the country, by the loss of that ship, both in their estates and dear relations, to the great grief and saddening of the hearts of many.*

* Thomas Mayhew, jun. with his father, Thomas Mayhew, were the grantees of Nantucket, Martha's vineyard, and the Elizabeth Islands, in 1641, under the Earl of Stirling, who claimed them by grant from the crown. Those Islands never made part of the Colony of Plymouth. In 1664, they were annexed to New-York, and afterwards to Massachusetts, by Charter of William and Mary, in 1692. The settlement at Martha's Vineyard commenced in 1642, under the wise and able direction of the Mayhews. The father was Governour of the island. The son was distinguished for his attention to the natives. He commenced his public religious instruction to them in 1646, and died at the age of thirty-seven. His venerable father, then seventy years of age, supplied his son's place as Missionary, with zeal and ability. There are few writers on New England History, who have not dwelt, with evident complacency, on the character and pursuits of those excellent men, and of their descendants, who were occupied in similar employments. "If any of the human race," says Dr. Eliot, "ever enjoyed the luxury of doing good, if any Christian ever could declare what it is to have peace, not as the world gives, but which passes the conception of those who look not beyond this world, we may believe this was the happiness of the Mayhews."

Thomas Mayhew, jun. left three sons, Matthew, Thomas, and John. Matthew, upon the death of his grandfather, in 1681, became his successor in the government of the island. He was also a preacher to the Indians, and died in 1710. Thomas was one of the Justices of the Court of Common Pleas, for the county. John entered into the ministry. He preached to the Indians at Tisbury, and also to the Indians in various parts of the island. He died in 1689, aged thirty-seven. Experience Mayhew, son of John, was a distinguished Missionary, and was so perfect in the Indian language, that he was employed by the Commissioners of the Society for the propagation of the Gospel, to make a new version of the Psalms and of the Gospel of John. He was the author of "Indian Converts," giving an account of thirty Indian ministers, and of about eighty Indian men, women, and youth, worthy of remembrance, for their religious character and deportment. He died 1758, aged eighty-six. That celebrated man, the Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, D. D. was his son. He had three other sons, Joseph and Nathan, who, with Jonathan their brother, were educated at Harvard College, and Zechariah, who was a Missionary to the Indians.*

In the instances of longevity, (p. 237, note,) Thomas Mayhew, the elder, is placed under the head "Massachusetts." His settlement was at Watertown, before his removal to Martha's Vineyard. In the unhappy loss of Mr. Garret's ship, beside Mr. Mayhew, there perished three young gentlemen, Mr. Ince, Mr. Pel-

* See "Description of Duke's County," *Hist. Coll.* Vol. III, 3d Series. For that valuable paper, we are indebted to Rev. J. Freeman, D. D.

1658.

THIS year Mr. Thomas Prince was elected Governour of the jurisdiction of New-Plimouth. Mr. William Collier, Mr. John Alden, Capt. Thomas Willet, Capt. Josias Winslow, Lieut. Thomas Southworth, Mr. William Bradford, and Mr. Thomas Hinkley, were elected his assistants in government.*

This year there was a very great earthquake in New-England.†

Also Mr. Ralph Partridge died in a good old age, having, for the space of forty years, dispensed the word of God with a very little impediment by sickness. His pious and blameless life became very advantageous to his doctrine; he was much honoured and loved by all that conversed with him. He was of a sound and solid judgment in the main truths of Jesus Christ, and very able in disputation to defend them; he was very singular in this, that notwithstanding the paucity and poverty of his flock, he continued in his work amongst them to the end of his life. He went to his grave in peace, *as a shock of corn fully ripe*, and was honourably buried at Duxbury.‡

ham, and Mr. Davis, all scholars, and Masters of Arts, who had received their education at Harvard College. [Hist. Coll. I, 202.]

* W. Bradford, son of the late Governour, and Mr. Hinkley, were elected in place of Timothy Hatherly and James Cudworth, omitted on account of their opposition to the severe proceedings against the Quakers. [See *Cudworth's Letter to a friend in London*, Dec. 1^o, 1638. Published in Neal's Hist. of New-England, Chap. VII.]

† Dr. Williams observes, that he cannot find any account of the month, day, violence, course, effects, or extent of this earthquake, or any other particulars of it. [Mem. of Amer. Acad. of Arts and Sci. I 265.] It is mentioned in Josselyn's Account of two Voyages to New England, in the same brief manner as in the Memorial, which he probably copied

‡ Mr. Partridge arrived at Boston, from England, in 1636, after a long and distressing voyage. He had been hunted, says Dr. Mather, like a partridge, on

In whose remembrance, one who was a true admirer of his worth presented these at his funeral.

Not rage, but age; not age, but God's decree,
 Did call me hence, my Saviour Christ to see,
 And to embrace, and from his hand receive
 My crown of Glory. Oh! who would not leave
 A flattering world, nay friends, or what's most dear,
 The saints' communion that's enjoyed here,
 At once to have God, Christ, saints, angels, all,
 To make complete, and sum our joys total?
 Now I behold God's glory face to face;
 Now I sit down with Christ, who've run my race;
 Now I sing praise to God, and to the Lamb;
 Now I companion to the angels am.
 Now I behold, with greatest joy, my sons
 And daughters all; I mean converted ones;
 Which I was instrumental in my place,
 To bring to God, but all of his free grace.
 How am I changed that of late was weak,
 Above the force of Satan now to break?
 How am I changed, son of sorrow late,
 But now triumphing in my heavenly state.
 How was I vex'd with pains, with griefs molested?
 How, in a moment, am I now invested
 With royal robes, with crowns, with diadems,
 With God's eternal love? Such precious gems
 He hath in store for them his saints that are;
 For such indeed he counts his jewels rare.
 Oh! brethren, sisters, neighbours, country, friends.
 I'm now above you; hark to them God sends,
 As yet surviving in their worthy charge;
 Whose work it is God's vineyard to enlarge.

the mountains, by the ecclesiastical *setters*, "and had no defence, neither of beak, nor claw, but a flight over the ocean." About half the whole term of his ministry (forty years,) was spent in Duxbury. Dr Mather's brief chapter upon Mr. Partridge exhibits continual allusions to his name. The epitaph which he proposes is, simply, the significant word—*Avolatit*.

God and my conscience your experience knows,
 Whilst I was with you I was one of those
 That laboured faithfully God's vineyard in,
 Sowing his seed, and plucking up of sin.
 Now is the harvest to myself indeed;
 The Lord grant a supply of one to feed -
 Your souls with heavenly food, and one to lead
 In ways of God, until his courts you tread.
 Next to God's love, my flock, love one another;
 And next to Christ, preserve love to thy brother.
 Let ever precious be in your esteem
 God's holy word; and such as slight it deem
 Of serpent's brood: whatever they pretend,
 By no means to such blasphemies attend.
 Decline all wand'rings, lest from all you stray;
 If stept aside, return in this your day.
 Keep close to God, so he that is most high
 Shall you preserve as apple of his eye;
 And give you peace on earth, tranquillity,
 Mansions in heaven to eternity;
 Where we, that death doth for a time now sever,
 Shall meet, embrace, and shall not part for ever.

Run is his race,
 And his work done;
 Left earthly place,
 Patriidge is gone;
 He's with the Father and the Sou.

Pure joys and constant do attend
 All that so live, such is their end.
 Return he shall with Christ again,
 To judge both just and sinful men.
 Rais'd is this bird of paradise:
 Joy heaven entered breaks the ice.
 Death under foot he trodden hath;
 Grace is to glory straightest path,
 Ever enjoys love free from wrath.

This year, on the last day of July, it pleased God that, by thunder and lightning, one John Philips, of Marshfield, in the jurisdiction of New-Plimouth, was suddenly slain.

Also, in the month of August, it pleased God to take away, by death, Mr. William Paddy, who was a precious servant of Christ, endued with a meek and quiet spirit, of a courteous behaviour to all men, and was very careful to nourish an intimate communion with God. He was instrumental in his place for common good, both in church, (being sometimes by office a deacon of the church of Plimouth) and in other respects very officious, as occasion did require. He having a great temporal estate, was occasioned thereby to have abundance of business upon him, but when he was to put off his earthly tabernacle, he laid aside all his earthly incumbrances and occasions, even as one would have taken off a garment, and laid it down; and without any trouble of spirit, on that behalf, prepared himself for his journey to the everlasting mansions, prepared for him by his Lord and Master in the highest heavens, whereof he was well assured; as to the like effect he spake to Mr. Norton, near unto the period of his life; and so falling asleep in the Lord, he was buried at Boston, with honour and great lamentation, in the year and month above mentioned.*

* Mr. Paddy's name is on the list of Freemen in Plymouth Colony, in 1636. He removed to Boston in 1651. He married Alice, a daughter of Edmund Freeman, of Sandwich, in 1639. He had two sons, Thomas and Samuel, born in Plymouth. The name appears to be now extinct.

[*Historical Extracts*, MS. 105.]

One, who was well acquainted with his worth and gracious endowments, presented this following, as a testimonial of his good respects for him.

W eep not dear wife, children, nor dear friends.

I live a life of joys that never ends.

L ove God, and fear him to end of your days:

L ive unto him, but die to sin always.

I n heavenly place of bliss my soul doth rest.

A mong the saints and angels I am blest;

M uch better here, than in the world at best.

P raising my God is now my great employ,

A bove such troubles as did me annoy.

D id but my friends know what I here possess,

D oubtless it would cause them to mourn the less:

Y our souls with mine e'er long shall meet in bliss.

1659.

THIS year Mr. Thomas Prince was elected Governour of the jurisdiction of New-Plimouth. Mr. William Collier, Mr. John Alden, Capt. Thomas Willet, Major Josias Winslow, Lieut. Thomas Southworth, Mr. William Bradford, and Mr. Thomas Hinkley, were chosen assistants to him in government.

Having noted before, that in the year 1657, there arrived in the colony of New-Plimouth, many of the pernicious sect, called Quakers; the reader may take notice, that by this time, for some years after, New-England, in divers parts of it, abounded with them, and they sowed their corrupt and damnable doctrines, both by word and writings, almost in every town of each jurisdiction, some whereof were, "that all men ought to attend the light within them, to be the

rule of their lives and actions;" and, "that the Holy Scriptures were not for the enlightening of man, nor a settled and permanent rule of life." They denied the manhood of the Lord Jesus Christ, and affirmed, "that, as man, he is not in heaven." They denied the resurrection from the dead. They affirmed, "that an absolute perfection in holiness or grace, is attainable in this life." They placed their justification upon their patience and suffering for their opinions, and on their righteous life and retired demurity, and affected singularity both in word and gesture.

As to civil account, they allowed not nor practised any civil respect to man, though superiours, either in magistratical consideration, or as masters or parents, or the ancient, neither by word nor gesture. They deny also the use of oaths for the deciding of civil controversies, with other abominable opinions, dreams, and conceits, which some of them have expressed, tending to gross blasphemy and atheism.*

* Some opinions may have been advanced by the Quakers, at that early period, or incorrectly inferred by their opponents, which modern Friends will not avow. It is proper, on this subject, to consult Miss H. Adams' statement of the principles of this sect, in her *View of Religions*; and also, a *Vindication of the Quakers*, annexed to the Philadelphia edition of Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History*, in 1798. Miss Adams professes to give the sentiments of every sect, in the general collective sense of the denomination, and, as much as possible, in the words of their own authors. The undisputed reputation of her compilation evinces her fidelity and impartiality. Some of the sentiments attributed to the Quakers, by Secretary Morton, we do not find in Miss Adams' Summary. The variations are, in several instances, important, but cannot here be noted. In the *Vindication*, above mentioned, which is signed in behalf of a meeting of Quakers, from Pennsylvania, New-Jersey, and other American states, it is thus expressly asserted, "We believe the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, to be of divine original, and give full credit to the historical facts, as well as to the doctrines therein delivered, and never had any doubt of the truth of the actual birth, life, sufferings, resurrection and ascension of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as related by the evangelists, without any mental or other reserve, or the least

This efficacy of delusion became very prevalent with many, so as the number of them increased, to the great endangering of the subversion of the whole, both

diminution by allegorical explanation." How far the summary of doctrine and belief, which is given in that Vindication, varies from the tenets of the early writers and teachers of this denomination, will be examined and considered by those who have opportunity and inclination to pursue the inquiry. Dr. C. Mather remarks, "that the more sensible men, that go under the name of Quakers," found the old *Forian Quakerism* so indefensible, that "they have, of later time, set themselves to refine it, with such concessions and confessions of truth, as that, in their system, it is quite another thing than it once was." [*Magnal.* VII, 94.] Mr. Clarkson's *Portraiture of Quakerism*, and his *Memoirs of the Life of William Penn*, give a full and favourable view of the tenets and character of this body of Christians. A review of the life of Penn, in the twelfth volume of the *Christian Observer*, contains a discussion of the opinions of the sect, with occasional references to the early extravagancies of some of its members. The review appears to have been written in the spirit of candour and good will which it professes; but it drew forth an angry reply from Henry Tuke, which is reviewed and examined in the 146th number of the *Christian Observer*, (February, 1814.) The considerations which are suggested, by the intelligent writers of those reviews, appear, in the main, to be so reasonable and important, as to elaim a serious and dispassionate reception from all the reflecting members of this respectable denomination.

The proceedings against the Quakers were far from being so severe in Plymouth Colony as in Massachusetts. In regard to their persecution, "if any man," says Dr. C. Mather, "will appear in the vindication of it, let him do as he please; for my part I will not." This humane remark is here repeated with pleasure. It may serve to correct some misconceptions, which have prevailed, relative to this celebrated man.

Many excellent features in the moral and economical practice of the Friends, are universally acknowledged and approved. The simplicity of their manners, and their departure from many prevailing fashions and habits in the world, were so correspondent to the primitive deportment of our ancestors, as to occasion some embarrassment in the opposition which was maintained. Speaking of the early settlers of New-England, an old writer observes, "the gravity of their habit, and calendar reformation by Satan's policy, hath since been imitated by the Quakers, that our fathers might be listed among those phanatics and enthusiasts." [*Narrative, &c. by Old Planters.*] In Hazard's Collections, [II, 558—560,] are preserved some of the "railing papers" penned by Quakers, and presented to the Plymouth magistrates. One of them, addressed to John Alden, advises him, if there be any expectation of mercy, to follow the example of *Timothy Hatherly*. Mr. Hatherly, it is supposed, discovered a more tolerant spirit than many of his associates; and, from hints which are obscurely intimated, Mr. Cudworth was also a dissenter from the prevailing disposition to

of church and commonwealth, notwithstanding the endeavours of those in authority to suppress the same, had not the Lord declared against them, by blasting their enterprizes and contrivements, so as they have withered away in a great measure; sundry of their teachers and leaders, which have caused them to err, are departed the country, and we trust the Lord will make the folly of the remainder manifest to all men more and more. Errour is not long-lived; the day will declare it. Let our deliverance from so eminent a danger be received amongst the principal of the Lord's gracious providences, and merciful loving kindnesses towards New-England; for the which let present and future generations celebrate his praises.

This year that learned and godly servant of God, Mr. John Dunster, fell asleep in the Lord. He was sometime president of Harvard College, at Cambridge, in New-England, in which he approved himself to the satisfaction of such as were in those affairs concerned. Afterwards he came into the jurisdiction of New-Plimouth, and lived awhile in the town of Scituate, and was useful in helping to oppose the abominable opinions of the Quakers, forementioned, and in defending the truth against them. He deceasing in the said town of Scituate, his body was embalmed, and removed unto Cambridge, aforesaid, and there honourably buried.*

severity, in cases of religious differences. In the same volume, p. 552, is a discreet letter from the Government of Rhode-Island, to the General Court of Massachusetts, concerning the Quakers, written in consequence of a letter from the commissioners of the United Colonies, remonstrating against the admission of those people in that colony.

* Mr. Dunster continued President of Harvard College until 1654, fourteen years from the time of his appointment. He resigned on account of the princi-

1660.

This year Mr. Thomas Prince was chosen Governor of the jurisdiction of New-Plimouth. Mr. William Collier, Mr. John Alden, Capt. Thomas Willet, Major Josias Winslow, Capt. Thomas Southworth, Capt. William Bradford, and Mr. Thomas Hinkley, were chosen assistants to him in government.

This year James Pierce, a young man that belonged to Boston, coming on fishing, and upon occasion

ples of anabaptism, which he had embraced, and thought himself bound to avow and to maintain. His learning and excellent spirit, had greatly recommended him to the Overseers of the College, and he was relinquished with regret. "They laboured with extreme agony," says Dr. C. Mather, "to rescue the good man from his own mistakes, or to restrain him from imposing them upon the *laps* of his flock, of both which finding themselves in despair, they did, as quietly as they could, procure his removal, and provide him a successor in Mr. Charles Chauncy." He was celebrated, particularly, for his accurate knowledge of the Hebrew language. The New-England version of the Psalms, on which the Rev. Mr. Weld and Eliot, of Roxbury, and the Rev. Mr. Mather, of Dorchester, had jointly laboured, was revised and refined by President Dunster. Dr. C. Mather, though he could not commend the poetry of this performance, observes, that he had never seen a translation "nearer the Hebrew Original." In New-England's First Fruits, published in London, 1643, President Dunster's official character and mode of instruction, are mentioned with approbation. From his directions to be buried at Cambridge, and the several legacies which he bequeathed to gentlemen in connexion with the College, it is evident, as Dr. Mather observes, that "he died in harmony of affection with the good men who had been the authors of his removal from Cambridge." Mr. Alden remarks, that his remains are supposed to have been conveyed to Cambridge. [*Epitaphs*, III, 185.] Mr. Morton's account renders it certain, that there was a compliance with the directions of his will in this particular. Until the monument, which Mr. Alden suggests is contemplated, shall be erected, we must be content with the Epitaph, which we find in the *Magnalia*, originally composed for Henry Rentz, and applied by Dr. Mather to President Dunster.

"Præni, Pater, Servus; sonni, sovui, coluiq;
 Sacra, Scholam, Christum; voce, rigore, fide.
 Famam, Animam, Corpus; dispergit, recreat, abdit;
 Virtus, Christus, Humus; laude, salute, sinu."

[*Magnal.* III, 99—101. *Hist. Coll.* I, 242.]

putting into Plimouth harbour, it pleased God that a storm of thunder and lightning arose, and by a blow thereof he was slain of a sudden, being much scorched and burnt thereby, although his clothes were made fast and close about him; so strange was this great work to the wonderment of all that beheld it.

1661.

THIS year Mr. Thomas Prince was elected Governour of the jurisdiction of New-Plimouth. Mr. William Collier, Mr. John Alden, Capt. Thomas Willet, Major Josias Winslow, Capt. Thomas Southworth, Capt. William Bradford, and Mr. Thomas Hinkley, were chosen assistants to him in government.*

1662.

THIS year Mr. Thomas Prince was elected Governour of the jurisdiction of New-Plimouth. Mr. William Collier, Mr. John Alden, Capt. Thomas Willet, Major Josias Winslow, Capt. Thomas Southworth, Capt.

* In this year, Plymouth Colony conveyed to four gentlemen in Massachusetts, their territory on the Kennebeck, granted to them by their last patent, taken in the name of Governour Bradford. The purchasers were Antipas Boyes, Edward Tyng, Thomas Brattle, and John Winslow. The price was four hundred pounds sterling; and in this purchase originated the Plymouth Company, which still exists, in reference to a portion of the territory included in the grant. \$2400

In 1654, Thomas Prince, then one of the board of assistants, proceeded to Kennebeck, pursuant to instructions, to settle a government amongst the inhabitants, within the Plymouth patent. Some new authorities, for that purpose, appear to have been then recently received from the Parliament. Mr. Prince required the inhabitants to make their appearance before him, at Merry-Meeting Bay. Sixteen attended and took the oath of fidelity to the state of England, and to the government of Plymouth. Several laws, or orders, for their government, were, at the same time, promulgated. [Haz. Coll. 585—586.]

William Bradford, and Mr. Thomas Hinkley, were chosen assistants to him in government.

This year, upon occasion of some suspicion of some plot intended by the Indians against the English, Philip the Sachem of Pocanaket, otherwise called Metacom, made his appearance at the court held at Plymouth, August 6, did earnestly desire the continuance of that amity and friendship that hath formerly been between the Governour of Plymouth and his deceased father and brother; and to that end the said Philip doth for himself and his successors desire, that they might forever remain subject to the King of England, his heirs and successors; and doth faithfully promise and engage, that he and his, will truly and exactly observe and keep inviolable, such conditions as formerly have been by his predecessors made; and particularly, that he will not at any time, needlessly or unjustly, provoke or raise war with any of the natives; nor at any time give, sell, or any way dispose of any lands (to him or them appertaining) to any strangers, or to any, without our privy or appointment, but will in all things endeavour to carry peaceably and inoffensively towards the English.

And the said court did also express their willingness to continue with him and his, the abovesaid friendship, and do on their part promise, that they will afford them such friendly assistance by advice and otherwise, as they justly may; and we will require our English at all times to carry friendly towards them. In witness whereof the said Philip the Sachem hath

set to his hand, as also his uncle, and witnessed unto by sundry other of his chief men.

Witness, John Sausamen, The mark  of Philip
The mark  of Francis alias Metacom.*
the Sachem of Nauset.

* After the death of Massasoit, about the year 1656, his two sons, Wamsutta and Metacomet came to the court, at Plymouth, and, professing great respect, requested English names might be given to them. Wamsutta, the eldest brother, was, thereupon, named Alexander; the younger, Metacomet, was called Philip. In 1662, Governour Prince was informed, by letters from Boston, that Alexander was contriving mischief against the English, and that he had solicited the Narragansetts to engage in his hostile enterprizes, denominated, by the writers at that period, "a designed rebellion." Captain Willet, who lived near Mount-Hope, was appointed to confer with Alexander, and to request his attendance at the next court, at Plymouth, to explain his proceedings. From his conversation with Captain Willet his appearance at court was expected. He did not attend, however, but still continuing his intercourse with the Narragansetts, the government, at Plymouth, directed Major Josias Winslow, to bring him before them by force. Major Winslow immediately proceeded, with ten men, to execute his instructions. On his way from Marshfield toward Mount-Hope, he, unexpectedly, found Alexander at his hunting-house, about half way between Plymouth and Bridgewater. He had with him a number of his men, (Hubbard says eighty,) well armed. Major Winslow, it appears, came upon the Sachem by surprise, and having secured the arms, which were without doors, entered the wigwam, and communicated his instructions. "The proud Sachem," says Dr. I. Mather, "fell into a raging passion, at this surprise, saying, that the Governour had no reason to credit rumours, or to send for him in such a way, nor would he go to Plymouth but when he saw cause." By the advice of his interpreter, a brother of John Sausaman, he was prevailed upon to submit. It was a warm summer day, and the Major kindly offered his prisoner the use of a horse: but his squaw, and several other Indian women, being of the party, who could not be furnished with horses, Alexander politely declined the offer, observing, that he could go on foot as well as they, only entreating that they might march with a slow pace, in accomodation to the women. In this request he was indulged; and Major Winslow, it appears, treated his royal prisoner with every attention, consistent with the object which he was required to accomplish. It was necessary to wait, until Governour Prince should be informed of the circumstance, and should arrive at Plymouth, from Eastham, where he then resided. The prisoner, in the mean time, was taken to the Major's house, at Marshfield, and was there courteously entertained. But he could not brook the affront: "Vexing and fretting in his spirit," says Dr. Mather, "that such a check was given him, he suddenly fell sick of a fever." Every proper humane attention appears to have been afforded in his sickness. He was nursed as a choice friend, says

This year, on the 26th of January, at the shutting in of the evening, there was a very great earthquake, in New-England, and the same night another, although something less than the former.

Dr. Mather, and Dr. Fuller, a neighbouring physician, prescribed for his relief. His disease continuing, the Indians, in his train, entreated he might be dismissed. Their request was granted, upon his engagement to appear at the next court; but, soon after his return home, he died. Mr. Hubbard says, he died "before he got half way home."

The Editor has had the perusal of a letter, from Dr. L. Mather to the Rev. Mr. Cotton, of Plymouth, dated, April 21, 1677, in which he expresses his solicitude to give an exact detail of this transaction, which, it appears, had excited considerable sensation, and some severe animadversion, in the community. His remarks on Mr. Hubbard's mistakes: but it is not perceived, that there is any very material variation in the narratives of the reverend authors. Dr. Mather's account is, indeed, the most complete; but Mr. Hubbard takes care to repel the false reports, which, he says, some had taken up, that the English had compelled Alexander to go further and faster than he was able; that his physician was inefficient, &c. "Nor is it to be imagined," he adds, "that a person of so noble a disposition as is that gentleman, at that time employed to bring him, should himself, or suffer any else to be uncivil to a person allied to them by his own, as well as his father's league." [*Hubbard's Narrative*, 10. *Mather's Relation*, 70, 71.]

Philip's appearance, at Plymouth, was soon after the death of his brother. Whatever resentment the treatment of Alexander might have excited, it seems to have been suppressed, or concealed, on this occasion.

John Sausaman, who appears as a witness to the agreement recited in the text, was a Massachusetts Indian. His parents were Christian converts, and lived at Dorchester. He had learned to read and write, and was educated in Christian principles; but a bias to savage life prevailed. Abandoning his friends, he repaired to Mount-Hope, and became Philip's secretary. The late Isaac Lothrop, Esq. of Plymouth, possessed a letter, from Philip to Governor Prince, which was probably penned by Sausaman. It was published in the *Massachusetts Magazine*, for May, 1789, but as it may afford some gratification to persons of curiosity on such subjects, the editor has thought it not amiss to insert it in this place.

"To the much honored governor mr *thomas prince*, dwelling at plymouth
honored sir,

King *philip* desire to let you understand that he could not come to the court for tom his interperter has a pain in his back that he could not travel so far, and philips sister is very sick.

Philip would intreat that favor of you and aney of the maiestrats, if aney english or engians speak about aney land he pray you to give them no answer

And again on the 28th of the same month there was another about nine of the clock in the morning.*

at all the last summer he maid that promise with you that he would not sell no land in 7 years time, for that he would have no english trouble him before that time, he has not forgot that you promise him he will come asune as possible he can to speak with you

and so I rest your very loving friend *philip* dwelling at mount hope neck."

This letter is without date, but it was probably written in 1663. This conjecture is grounded on the reference to the promise made in the preceding summer. There was another interview, at Taunton, in 1671, when the promise, referred to might have been made. But that meeting was in April.

John Sausaman's fate was tragical. In 1674, he left the service of Philip, and made communications to the Government of Plymouth, of the Sachem's hostile intentions. Governour. Prince, advising with his council, resolved to send for Philip, to inquire into the truth of the allegations. Before it could be accomplished, Sausaman was murdered, near Assawamsett Pond, in Middleborough. His body, which had been concealed under the ice, being found, Tobias, one of Philip's counsellors, and his son, with another Indian, (Mattashinnamy,) were apprehended on suspicion of being guilty of the murder. They were convicted at Plymouth, at a court, holden in June, 1675, and executed. Six "grave Indians" were put upon the jury, in the trial of the culprits. This affair precipitated the hostilities, which, it appeared, Philip had meditated, but for which he was not, at that time, fully prepared. Eight or nine of the English were slain by the Indians, at Swanzy, on the 24th of June, which was the commencement of the memorable contest, denominated Philip's war. [*Hubbard's Narr.* 14—16. *Mather's Rel.* 74.]

The antiquary, would, probably, be gratified, if he could be informed, more precisely of the situation of Alexander's hunting house. On the road from Plymouth to Bridgewater and about half way between the two towns, in Halifax, there is a beautiful and spacious lake, called, Monponset pond. It is not improbable, that the princely hunting house was in that vicinity.

* In the annals of New-England, five earthquakes are mentioned, so considerable, as to be denominated *great earthquakes*. They are those of 1638, 1658, 1662—3, October 29, 1727, and November 18, 1755. Of the three first, accounts are given in the Memorial, but they are very brief and general. Of the earthquake in 1662—3, a more full and satisfactory account will be found in the French writers, describing its phenomena and wonderful effects in Canada, where it was extremely violent. [*Sic Charlevoix Hist. de la Noiro. Fr lib. 8. Jour de Savans VII, 201.*] Of that in 1727, the Hon. Paul Dudley gave an account to the Royal Society, which was published in their Transactions, and much information respecting it may be obtained from the sermons on the subject, preached by several New-England ministers. The last great earthquake in New-England, that of

Forasmuch as I have had special occasion several times in this history to mention divers earthquakes that have been in New-England, they being great and ter-

November 18, 1755 was fully described, with the addition of valuable philosophical comments, by Professor Winthrop, in his Lecture at Harvard College, which was published, with the addition of some notes, and an Appendix. The latter had reference to a theory of earthquakes, suggested by the Rev. Mr. Prince, which Dr. Winthrop considered altogether unreasonable; and to some strictures, made by Mr. Prince, on the Professor's manner of treating the subject, in his lecture. Dr. Williams' *Observations and Conjectures on the Earthquakes of New-England*, published in the first volume of the *Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, present a valuable collection of facts, diligently collected by the writer from various sources, with ingenious Conjectures, and judicious reflections on this obscure, but interesting subject. Beside the five great earthquakes above mentioned, he enumerates nineteen more, which were of inconsiderable force, or of very limited extent. They were at the following dates. 1653, October 29. (O. S.); 1660, 1665, 1668, 1669, 1670, 1705, 1720, September 5; 1732, 1737, February 6, December 7; 1744, June 5; 1757, July 2; 1761, March 12, November 1, 1766, 1769, 1771, 1788, November 29. Other accounts mention two more, one May 8, 1804, and another November 9, 1810. [See *Memoirs of Amer. Acad. of Arts and Sci.* Vol. III part 2.] One more considerable than had been experienced in New-England for many years, occurred on the 28th of November, 1814, at half past six o'clock in the evening. It is believed to have been more severe and extensive than any which preceded it, since 1755.

From this enumeration it might be imagined, by persons unacquainted with the country, that a residence in it must be rendered unquiet, from the apprehensions of a return of this alarming operation in nature. The fact is, however, that, excepting the five great earthquakes, and the one in 1814, the shocks, or vibrations, have been so inconsiderable as to escape general notice.

The accounts given of the effects in Canada, of the earthquake of 1662—5, such as the uprooting of trees, formation of chasms, alteration of the course of rivers, and the removal of mountains, though, perhaps, exaggerated, appear to be too well attested to be rejected. But that it overwhelmed a chain of mountains of free-stone, more than two hundred miles long, and changed that immense tract into a plain, as asserted by Clavigero, in his History of Mexico, must not, says Dr. Holmes, be believed. [*Amer. Annals*, I. 388.] Dr. Holmes' doubts on this subject arise from the want of evidence from original sources. An operation so immense and extraordinary, it was reasonably thought, would be mentioned by many contemporary writers, and be supported by collateral evidence. Clavigero cites no authority, and it does not appear that Charlevoix supports the assertion. He, indeed, remarks, that the extent of the earthquake was three hundred leagues from East to West, and for more than one hundred and fifty from North to South.

rible works of God, and are usually ominous to some strokes and visitations of his hand unto places and people where they are; and sometimes the Lord in the very acting of his power in them, hath declared his severity to the children of men, to their great overthrow and confusion; I thought it necessary, before I pass on, a little to point at some few particulars, to work and induce us to a profitable remembrance of them; it being very considerable that is said by a useful author, in taking notice of the wisdom of God, in preparing the earth to be a fit habitation for man to dwell in, addeth withal, that as if man were not always worthy to tread upon so solid a foundation, we see it oftentimes quake and shake, and rock and rend itself, as if it shewed that he which made it, threatened by this trembling the impiety of the world, and the ruin of those that dwell on the earth.

In order unto that which I have nominated in this behalf and more principally intend, let us take notice, that writers have rendered the cause of earthquakes to

There is a passage, however, in the life of the celebrated Mary of the Incarnation, Superior of the Ursulins at Quebec, written by her son, which, if it may be credited, abundantly confirms Clavigero's statement. The mountains on both sides of the river, it is affirmed, were sunk to a level with the neighbouring fields; and a tract of country, more than a hundred leagues in extent, filled with rocks and mountains, was reduced to a plain.

"Les Montagnes des deux costes se sont perduës et égalées aux Campagnes voisines plus d'une lieue sur le fleuve, et il y a un espace, de plus de cent lieues tout rempli de rochers et de montagnes qui s'est tellement aplani, qu'il fust aujourd'huy une grand plaine, aussi égale que si elle avoit esté dressée au niveau."

[*Journ. des Sçavans*. VII, 203. May 1678.]

The publication of this account, in Paris, at no great distance of time from the period of the earthquake, unattended with any cotemporary contradiction, entitles it to consideration. But the silence of Charlevoix, in regard to a fact so extraordinary, may well excite a doubt as to the fidelity of the narrative in this particular.

be, that when it happeneth that air and windy spirits and exhalations are shut up in the caverns of the earth, or have such passage as is too narrow for them, they then striving to break their prisons, shake the earth, and make it tremble. They speak likewise of the several kinds of them: As,

First, When the whole force of the wind driveth to one place, there being no contrary motion to let or hinder it; many hills and buildings have been rushed down by this kind of earthquake, especially when the wind causing it was strong; for if it be a feeble wind, it only looseneth or unfasteneth foundations, if less feeble, then, without further harm, the earth only shakes, like one sick of an ague.

Secondly, The second kind is a swelling of the earth; the which, when the wind is broken out of its prison, the earth returns to its place again.

Thirdly, A third kind is, a gaping, rending or cleaving of the earth one part from another, so that sometimes whole towns, cities, rocks, hills, rivers, and some parts of the sea have been swallowed up, and never seen more.

Fourthly, A fourth kind is, shaking, that causeth sinking, and is far different from the former; for now the earth splitteth not, but sinketh; this being in such places, where, though the surface of the ground be solid, yet it hath but a salt foundation, which being moistened by water driven through it by the force of the shaking exhalation, is turned into water also.*

* Thus was the Atlantick Ocean caused to be a sea, as Plato affirmeth, who lived three hundred and sixty-six years before Christ was born. M.

Fifthly, A fifth kind of earthquake is contrary to the former; for, as before the ground sinks down, so now it is cast up, like as in the second kind already mentioned, only this is the difference, that now it returneth not to its place again, but remains a great mountain. And note, that if such a rising be in the sea, it not only causeth overflowings, but produceth likewise many islands such as were never seen before.

These particulars are treated of at large by approved authors, and here only hinted, to the intent that we may take notice of the special providence of God to New-England in this behalf, that we have not as yet felt the misery of the worst of the kinds of earthquakes forenamed, nor swallowed up in them, but those who have been sensible of have been rather gentle warnings unto us, to shake us out of our earthly-mindedness, spiritual security, and other sins, lest the Lord do come against us with judgments of this kind, in the sorest and worst sort of them, or otherwise by removing the present blessing of godly government from us.

Notwithstanding that which hath been said, the efficient cause is supernatural, as either principally God, or instrumentally the angels, although naturally the wind shut up within the pores and bowels of the earth, as is before noted.

If the effects of them usually are such, as by them is sometimes a discovery of the channels of water and foundations of the world, the removing of mountains from one place to another, the cleaving of rocks and opening of graves and gates, yea, the throwing down

of many famous building and cities, and some swallowed up, and many thousands of people destroyed thereby; the turning of plain land into mountains; the throwing down of mountains and raising up of islands in the sea, the breaking out of rivers where there were none before; the discovery of burning mountains where there were none seen before. Famines and pestilences, of which particulars divers instances might be produced out of the Sacred Scriptures, and several other authors. Exod. xix, 18; Psalm xxix, 6; civ, 62; Mat. xxviii, 2; Ps. xviii, 15; Zech. xiv, 4; Rev. vi, 12, 14; Mat. xxvii, 51; Acts xvi, 26. Ought we not then to fear and tremble before so great a God, who, (as one saith) by his handmaid nature doth so terribly shake the earth, as no land can be sure, no place so strong that can defend us? Nay, the more strong, the more dangerous; for the higher, the greater the fall. Let us therefore say with the wise man, Eccl. iii, 14, *I know that whatsoever God doth, shall stand for ever; nothing can be put to it, nor any thing taken from it, and God doth it, that men should fear before him.**

* We know not the writers from whom Secretary Morton derived his physical remarks upon earthquakes; but his description of their various modes of operation very nearly agrees with the doctrine of Aristotle; and as to the cause, he corresponds with Pliny: *Ventus in causa esse non dubium reor*, says that learned and indefatigable writer. [*Nat. Hist.* lib. II, §81.] Modern philosophers have not been wanting in industry and ingenuity to give some more satisfactory explanation of these tremendous phenomena, which are frequently extremely disastrous, often productive of considerable changes on the globe, and always, according to the degree of violence, alarming to its inhabitants. By some, a shock of an earthquake has been considered as merely the action of the *central fire*, supposed to be contained in an immense abyss, in the bosom of the earth. In some instances, they have been supposed to have arisen from the filling in of the roofs of caverns, abraded and weakened by the action of subterraneous waters.

This year Mr. John Brown ended this life; in his younger years travelling into the low countries, he came acquainted with, and took good liking to, the

Mr. Amontons considered, that earthquakes were produced by the sudden expansion of air, imprisoned at great depths, in the earth, which being previously exceedingly condensed by pressure, would, from that circumstance, expand with violence by a small degree of heat. Others have ascribed their origin to the union and fermentation of various inflammable or mineral substances, particularly iron and sulphur. This opinion has had many able supporters; such are Kircher, Schotten, Varenius, Des Cartes, Du Hamel and others. This is the explanation adopted by Professor Winthrop, in his lecture on earthquakes, and by Dr. Williams, in his valuable paper, mentioned in a preceding note. Among those, who would refer the phenomena of earthquakes to electricity, we find many respectable names; of whom may be mentioned Stukeley, Priestley, and Beccaria. Mr. Michel thought a preferable theory might be framed, from the known action of steam; and this opinion is embraced by many philosophers. The Rev. Mr. Prince, of Boston, also suggested an explanation, from the action of the electric matter, soon after the earthquake of 1755. It is not recollected whether he notices Dr. Stukeley's hypothesis which had previously been published in England. Mr. Prince's remarks induced Dr. Winthrop to examine the doctrine, in an appendix annexed to his lecture, in which he contends, that earthquakes do not admit of an explanation on this principle, by any of the known laws of electricity. The subject is still involved in obscurity. "It is by no means improbable," says a modern writer, "that the phenomena of earthquakes may depend on the operation of more than one, or, perhaps, of all the causes to which their effects have been ascribed" [*Miller's Appendix to Williams' Nat. Hist. of the Mineral Kingdom.*]

Mr. Prince, from his view of the subject, was led to condemn the iron points, which had then begun frequently to be erected, as a security against lightning. He conceived that they might promote that accumulation of the electric fluid in the earth, which he considered as productive of earthquakes. Dr. Winthrop exposes the absurdity of this supposition, if the principle of the hypothesis should be admitted; and it is observable, that an Italian philosopher, who supported the opinion of the agency of electricity in the production of earthquakes, proposed to fix metallic rods into the ground, to conduct the electric fluid from the earth into the atmosphere; or, under certain circumstances, from the atmosphere to the earth. Pliny, in conformity to his hypothesis, recommends the digging of vaults, or holes, that the imprisoned air may more readily escape; and observes, that those towns are safest, which are most abundantly furnished with subterraneous drains. [lib II. §4.] He mentions the predictions of earthquakes, by some ancient observers of nature, Anaximander and Pherecydes, and expresses his astonishment at their great sagacity, "*Que si vera sunt, quantum a deo tandem videri possunt tales distare, dum vivant?*" [Gibbon considers such conjectures as futile. In his remarks on this subject, we perceive the expla-

reverend pastor of the church of Christ at Leyden, as also to sundry of the brethren of that church: which ancient amity induced him (upon his coming over to

nation, which he adopted or preferred. "Their times and effects appear to be beyond the reach of human curiosity, and the philosopher will discreetly abstain from the prediction of earthquakes, till he has counted the drops of water, that silently filtrate on the inflammable mineral, and measured the caverns, which increase by resistance, the explosion of the imprisoned air." [*Decl. & Fall. chap. 43.*] The near approach of earthquakes, however, would seem, from authentic accounts, to be not unfrequently indicated, by unusual appearances in the atmosphere, alteration in the waters of springs and wells, sulphurous or phosphoric smells, and peculiar affections of the sea.

Dr. Williams observes, that the earthquakes in New-England have uniformly been in one course, nearly from north-west to south-east. Maryland, he says, is the extreme of their south-western limit; to the north-east they have not been felt beyond Halifax. The river Merimack he considers as in the line of their greatest violence. "If from this place," he observes, "a line be drawn north-west, it will pretty well represent the central course of the earthquakes of this country, and from this line they have extended almost four hundred miles to the south-west and north-east." In the third volume of the *Memoirs of the American Academy of arts and Sciences*, is an interesting paper, communicated by Governor Sargent, relative to the memorable earthquakes, in 1811 and 1812, in the southern and western parts of the United States. They were the first, in the opinion of Governor Sargent, which had extended to the Mississippi, since the discovery of America.

Dr. Winthrop offers some suggestions on the probable uses of earthquakes, in which, it is presumed, he is original. He considers their operation as advantageous, in loosening the texture of the earth, and preventing a too augmented density, from the incessant action of gravity. Such mutations, he conceives, may be from time to time necessary, for the production of subterraneous bodies, and for promoting the growth of vegetables. The same supposition is adopted by Dr. Williams. "Were an insuperable bond of attraction," he observes, to "take place on the surface, or in the bowels of the earth, without something to oppose its power, fluidity, motion, vegetation, and all nature would be at a stand." The operation, however salutary in the event, will ever be terrific; but in this part of the world, this awful and mysterious branch of the economy of the universe, has been exercised and displayed in much mercy. In the whole history of the earthquakes of New England, from the first settlement of the country, the injury of any sort which they have produced, has been inconsiderable, and in no instance has life been destroyed by their operation. Charlevoix makes a similar remark, relative to the preservation of human life, when describing the other tremendous effects of the earthquake in 1662—3, in Canada; and we do not find in Governor Winthrop's account of the violent earthquakes on the Mississippi, that any life was lost. How different are the effects of the agitations and con-

New-England) to seat himself in the jurisdiction of New-Plimouth, in which he was chosen a magistrate; in which place he served God and the country several years; he was well accomplished with abilities to both civil and religious concerns, and attained, through God's grace, unto a comfortable perswasion of the love and favour of GOD to him; he falling sick of a fever, with much serenity and spiritual comfort fell asleep in the Lord, and was honourably buried at Wannamoisett near Rehoboth, in the spring of the year abovesaid.*

1663.

THIS year Mr. Thomas Prince was chosen Governour of the jurisdiction of New-Plimouth. Mr. William Collier, Mr. John Alden, Capt. Thomas Willet, Major Josias Winslow, Lieut. Thomas Southworth, Capt. William Bradford, Mr. Thomas Hinkley, were chosen his assistants in government.

This year Mr. Samuel Newman, teacher of the church of Christ at Rehoboth, changed this life for a

vulsions in the human family from the passions of man. "The mischievous effects of an earthquake, or deluge, a hurricane, or the eruption of a volcano," says Gibboon, "bear a very inconsiderable proportion to the ordinary calamities of war." In these moral disorders, it is not difficult to trace the source, nor can we be at a loss for the remedy.

* John Brown is named, in 1636, as one of the assistants, a place to which he was often afterward elected. He was also one of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, from 1644 to 1655. James Brown, who was chosen an assistant, in 1665, and lived at Swansey, was his son. We find the same remark made respecting Mr. Brown, as of Mr. Winslow and Captain Standish, that, while on their travels, they became casually acquainted with the refugees at Leyden, and were so attached to them, on acquaintance, as to unite themselves to their society. A connexion thus formed, and continued through so many difficulties, is alike honourable to all the parties; we are led to infer, that there was something prepossessing in the deportment of the pilgrims, interesting and congenial to generous minds.

better. He was sometimes preacher of God's word at Weymouth, in the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, and from thence removed to Rehoboth, where he continued in the work of the ministry until the end of his days. He was a lively dispenser of the word of God, and of a pious life, very hospitable, and at the close of his life very full of joy and comfort; and with cheerfulness of spirit resigned himself up to the Lord, and his spirit into the arms of his blessed redeemer, desiring that the holy angels might do their office in transporting his soul into everlasting bliss and happiness. He fell asleep in the Lord on the fifth of July, 1668.*

This year also it pleased God to put a speedy period to the life of Mr. John Norton, who was a burning and a shining light; and although the church of Boston, in a more special manner, felt the smart of this sudden blow, yet it reflected upon the whole land. He was singularly endowed with the tongue of the learned, enabled to speak a word in due season, not only to the wearied soul, but also a word of counsel to a people in necessity thereof, being not only a wise steward of the things of Jesus Christ, but also a wise statesman; so that the whole land sustained a great loss of him. At his first coming over into New-England, he arrived at Plimouth, where he abode the best part of one winter, and preached the Gospel of the kingdom unto them; and ever after, to his dying day, retained a good affection unto them. From thence he

* See page 217, note.

went to Boston, and from thence to Ipswich, in New-England, where he was chosen the teacher of their church; and after the death of worthy Mr. Cotton, he was solicited and at length obtained, to return to Boston, and there served in that office until his death. He was chosen by the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, together with the much honoured Mr. Simon Bradstreet, to go over into England, as agents in the behalf of that jurisdiction, unto His Majesty and the Privy Council, upon business of greatest trust and concernment; and soon after his return, it pleased God, suddenly and unexpectedly, to take him away by death, on the fifth day of April, 1663. His body was honourably buried at Boston.* On whose much lamented death, take this following elegy.

* Mr. Norton was born in 1606. He arrived at Plymouth in October, 1635. Mr. Winslow was in the same ship, and had made overtures to Mr. Norton, for his settlement in the ministry, at Plymouth, which were seconded by the united wishes of the people; but he preferred a settlement in Massachusetts. Upon the accession of Charles II, having advised to the address from Massachusetts, he was appointed agent, with Mr. Bradstreet, to present it, and to answer complaints made against the colony. This was a delicate and important commission, as the New-England colonies, and especially Massachusetts, were then viewed by the royalists in England. Governour Hutchinson says, that the agents were pressed into the service; and Dr. Eliot remarks, that it required so much art and dissimulation, in consequence of the disposition, which had been manifested, during the usurpation, that a minister of the Gospel ought not to have been concerned in it. The agents appear, however, to have managed their trust discreetly; and we can perceive no sufficient reason for the coolness and disapprobation, with which they are said to have been received on their return. This reception of their well meant exertions for the good of the country, is supposed to have so deeply affected Mr. Norton as to have hastened his death. This suggestion appears questionable to his intelligent biographer, Dr. Eliot. Mr. Norton was an eminent scholar. Dr. Eliot quotes Mr. Fuller's approbation of his Latin letter to Appollonius, in answer to his question relative to church government. He was the author also of a Latin letter to Mr. Dury, who was exerting himself for a pacification of all the reformed churches, which has been much celebrated. It was signed by more than forty New-England ministers.

*An Elegy on the death of that eminent minister of the Gospel,
Mr. John Norton, the reverend teacher of the church of Christ
at Boston, who exchanged this life for a better, April 5, 1663.*

Ask not the reason why tears are our meat,
And none but mourners seen in ev'ry street?
Our crown, alas, is fallen from our head;
We find it off: woe to us, Norton's dead.
Our breach is like the sea, no healing's known:
To comfort Sion's daughter is there none?
Oh teach your daughters wailing every one,
Their neighbours deepest lamentation.
Oh that mine eyes a fountain were of tears!
I'd day and night in mourning spend my years.
My father! father! Israel's chariots thou,
And horseman wert! Sons of the prophets now,
Weep since your master from your head is taken:
This father of the muses hath forsaken
His study here, not liking our dark room,
Doth chuse those mansions in his Father's home.
The schoolmen's doctors, whomsoe'er they call
Subtile, seraphic, or angelical:
Dull souls! their tapers burnt exceeding dim;
They might to school again to learn of him.
Lombard must out of date: we now profess
Norton the master of the sentences.
Scotus a dunce to him: should we compare
Aquinas here, none to be named are.
Of a more heavenly strain his notions were,
More pure, sublime, scholastical, and clear:
More like the apostles, Paul and John, I wist,
Was this our orthodox evangelist.
And though an exile from his native land,
As John in Patmos was; yet here the hand
Of Christ leads forth, more clearly to espy
The New-Jerusalem in her bravery.
Who more acute in judgment was than he?
More famous too for heavenly policy?

He was a wise and faithful counsellor,
 One of a thousand, an interpreter.
 Mighty in word and prayer, who could have
 Whate'er almost from heaven he did crave:
 On him, with things without (which I'll not name)
 The care of all the churches daily came.
 He car'd thus naturally: Oh hear that rod,
 Which us bereav'd of such a man of God!
 Zealous for order, very critical
 For what was truly congregational.
 A pillar of our church and state was he;
 But now no more, no more his face we see!
 Who thought more fit of all his tribe to stand
 Before our King, for favour for our land,
 Lately? but now translated is to rest,
 This agent of New-England's interest.
 When last he preach'd, he us the pattern gave
 Of all that worship Christ in 's church would have:
 God then him up into the mount did call,
 To have the vision beatifical.
 As Thomas to the twelve said, *Come, let's go*
And die with him; I'd almost said so too:
 I'll yet a while in tears sow, that I may,
 With him, in joyful reapings live for aye.
 A tomb now holds his soul's beloved shrine,
 Of th' Holy Ghost, a temple most divine.
 And well New-England's heart may rent at this!
 Wonder not reader, I so greatly miss
 Fit words, his worth, our loss and grief to fame,
 When as no epitaph can declare the same.

T. S.*

Not long after, viz. in the month of July, followed
 the death of that eminent servant of God, Mr. Samuel

* Dr. Mather informs us that these lines were written by Mr. Thomas Shepard. [*Magnal.* III, 88.] Mr. Shepard was the eldest son of the Rev. Thomas Shepard of Cambridge, mentioned p. 245, and was minister of Charlestown. He died of the small pox, 1677, aged 43.

Stone, who was another star of the first magnitude in the firmament of New-England. He was a learned, solid, and judicious divine, equally able for the confirmation of the truth, and confutation of errors. His ministry was with much conviction and demonstration, and when he set himself to application, very powerful. He was teacher to the church of Hartford fourteen years, together with Mr. Hooker, and sixteen years after him, thirty years in all. He died on the twentieth of July, and was honourably buried at Hartford.*

A Threnodia upon our churches second dark eclipse, happening July 20, 1663, by death's interposition between us and that great light and divine plant, Mr. Samuel Stone, late of Hartford, in New-England.

LAST spring this summer may be autumn styl'd,
 Sad withering fall our beauties which despoil'd:
 Two choicest plants, our Norton and our Stone,
 Your justs threw down; remov'd, away are gone.
 One year brought Stone and Norton to their mother,
 In one year, April, July, them did smother.
 Dame Cambridge, mother to this darling son;
 Emanuel, Northampt' that heard this one,
 Essex, our bay, Hartford, in sable clad,
 Come bear your parts in this Threnodia sad.

* Mr. Stone was not only celebrated as an accurate and acute disputant, but for his wit and pleasantry. The latter years of his life were embittered by a schism in his church, originating in a dispute upon some ecclesiastical topic, between him and the ruling elder. The country round engaged in the quarrel, and resort was had to Massachusetts for mediation and counsel. Dr. Mather observes, that the true original of the misunderstanding was almost as obscure as the rise of Connecticut river. Dr. Trumbull, however, informs us, that "the whole controversy respected the qualifications for baptism, church membership, and the rights of the brotherhood. It was in this dispute, that Mr. Stone gave this sententious definition of Congregationalism, *a speaking aristocracy, in the face of a silent democracy.*"

[*Magnal.* III, 116—118. *Trumb. Hist. of Connect.* I, chap. XIII.]

In losing one, church many lost: O then
 Many for one come be sad singing men.
 May nature, grace and art be found in one
 So high, as to be found in few or none.
 In him these three with full fraught hand contested,
 With which by each he should be most invested.
 The largess of the three, it was so great
 On him, the stone was held a light compleat
 A stone more than the Ebenezer fam'd;
 Stone splendid diamond, right orient nam'd;
 A cordial stone, that often cheered hearts
 With pleasant wit, with Gospel rich imparts;
 Whetstone, that edgify'd th' obtusest mind;
 Loadstone, that drew the iron heart unkind;
 A pondrous stone, that would the bottom sound
 Of Scripture depths, and bring out Arcan's found;*
 A stone for kingly David's use so fit,
 As would not fail Goliath's front to hit;
 A stone, an antidote, that brake the course
 Of gangrene errour, by convincing force;
 A stone acute, fit to divide and square;
 A squared stone became Christ's building rare.
 A Peter's living, lively stone (so rear'd)
 As 'live, was Hartford's life; dead, death is fear'd.
 In Hartford old, Stone first drew infant breath,
 In New, effus'd his last: O there beneath
 His corps are laid, near to his darling brother,†
 Of whom dead oft he sigh'd, *Not such another.*
Heaven is the more desirable, said he,
For Hooker, Shephard, and Haynes's company. E. B.‡

* These ancient elegies, which will, probably, appear truly *ponderous* to many readers, may engage the attention of others: Such may inquire, what is to be understood by "Arcan's found?" The Editor is not sure, that he can give a satisfactory answer, but is inclined to think, with some skilful friends, whom he has consulted, that, if the measure had permitted, the poet would have written *ARCANA found.* † Mr. Hooker. M.

‡ It is conjectured that Edward Bulkley, mentioned page 219, was the author of these lines. The Editor would observe, however, that the conjecture wholly rests on the applicability of the initials. The same remark should have been made in reference to the lines attributed to the Rev. Peter Bulkley, page 242.

1664.

THIS year Mr. Thomas Prince was chosen Governour of the jurisdiction of New-Plimouth. Mr. William Collier, Mr. John Alden, Capt. Thomas Willet, Major Josias Winslow, Lieut. Thomas Southworth, Capt. William Bradford, and Mr. Thomas Hinkley, were chosen assistants to him in government.*

This year a blazing star, or comet, appeared in New-England, in the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and the beginning of the twelfth month. Concerning which it hath been observed, that such was its motion, that, in all likelihood, it was visible to all the inhabitants of the earth; and that, also, in its motion, the blaze of it did turn to all the quarters of the world; and that by its turning according to the several aspects it had to the sun, it was no fiery meteor caused by exhalation, but that it was sent immediately by God to awake the secure world.†

* The line between Massachusetts and Plymouth was amicably settled this year, by a committee from each colony. It is the same which separated the old county of Suffolk from the counties of Plymouth and Bristol. [*Hutch. I, 209. Dougl. Summ. I, 401.*] See Appendix W.

† The theory of comets, so interesting in the science of astronomy, was now approaching to a high degree of improvement. Various crude and irreconcilable opinions had been entertained respecting them; by some they were considered as mere lucid meteors, resembling what are called shooting stars; by others, they were viewed with extreme terror, as worlds on fire, or as heralds of divine vengeance. The powerful mind of Sir Isaac Newton was directed to this subject; he demonstrated that they make a part of the solar system, and that they perform their revolutions in elliptic orbits of great excentricity. This sublime and satisfactory doctrine was announced to the world in 1687. The illustrious Halley, following the steps of Newton, having ascertained, to his own satisfaction, the identity of the comet seen in 1532, 1607, and 1682, ventured to announce its re-appearance in 1758, or 1759. His prediction was verified. Its re-appearance of course may be expected in 1834. The great comet of 1680, whose tail

I willingly close with that which Mr. Samuel Danforth hath religiously observed, as to the theological application of this strange and notable appearance in the heavens, that indeed by the testimony of the Sacred Scriptures, and the common histories of former ages, comets do usually precede and portend great calamities and notable changes.

To add a few more instances to those the said author hath well observed;

When the Emperor Jovian attained^d to the empire, (succeeding the apostate Julian, under whom the church suffered much persecution,) and that under him both church and commonwealth were like to have had a flourishing time, had he not been taken away by sudden death; then also appeared a comet, shewing that further trouble was yet to be expected to the church. [*Socrates, lib. 4, cap. 22.*]

Again, other authors make mention of a strange comet, that was seen in the year of Christ 410, being like a two-edged sword, which portended many mischiefs and calamities, that happened both in the east and west, and such great slaughters of men were, about those days, as no age ever afforded the like. All Europe was in a manner undone; no small part of Asia was affrighted; and Africa also was not void

tended more than sixty degrees, is supposed to perform its revolution in five hundred and seventy-five years. The eloquent author of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, in one brief section, transports us, with a bold and steady hand, to accompany its revolutions for seven successive periods. At its last re-appearance, says he, "Its road, in the heavens, was observed, with exquisite skill, by Flamsteed and Cassini, and the mathematical sciences of Bernouilli, Newton, and Halley, investigated the laws of its revolution. At the eighth period, in the year two thousand two hundred and fifty-five, their calculations may perhaps be verified by the astronomers of some future capital, in the Siberian or American wilderness."

[Vol. VII, p. 413—415.]

of those evils, as war, famine, drought, and pestilence; all of them strove, as it were, to trouble the whole world.

Also, in the years 1400, 1401, 1402, and 1403, comets appeared, and great calamities followed; sundry unheard of diseases were felt, rivers dried up, and plagues were increased. Tamerlain, king of the Scythians and Parthians, with an innumerable host, invaded Asia, calling himself, The wrath of God, and the desolation of the earth. [*Read Carion, lib. 5, page 854.*]

Also, in the year 1529, appeared four comets; and in the years 1530, 1532, and 1533, were seen, in each year, one.

Languet saith, that there were three within the space of two years, upon which these, and the like calamities, followed, viz. a great sweating sickness in England, which took away great multitudes of people. The Turk in the quarrel of John Vuavoida,* who laid claim to the crown of Hungaria, entered the said kingdom with two hundred and fifty thousand fighting soldiers, committing, against the inhabitants thereof, most harsh and unspeakable murders, rapes, villanies and cruelties.

Great famine and dearth in Venice, and the countries thereabouts, which swept away many; the sweating sickness in Brabant, and in a great part of Germany.

Great wars likewise about the Dukedom of Millain, between the Emperor Charles the fifth, and Francis, the French King.

* John De Zapolles, count of Scepus, Vaivode of Transylvania, competitor for the crown of Hungary, with the Emperor Ferdinand.

About that time, also, all Lusitania, or Portugal, was struck with an earthquake, insomuch that at Ulisippo, or Lisbon, above a thousand houses were thrown down, and sixty more so shaken that they were ready to fall: With many other evils that befel those parts about that time.

And to observe what hath fallen out since this last comet appeared, will not be unuseful, either in Europe or America.

In Europe, the great contest between our own nation and the Dutch, which hath threatened bloody war; and what will be in the conclusion is known only to God. Besides other contests between the Dutch and some other of their neighbours; as also the pestilence, very hot both in England and Holland.

In America, the late and sad blow that our countrymen, at the Isle of Christopher's, received from the French.* And as to ourselves in New-England, al-

* "We are told that in the first Dutch war, in the reign of Charles II, the French king declaring for the United States, his subjects in St. Christopher's, disdaining an inglorious neutrality, attacked the English planters, and drove them from their possessions, which were, afterwards, by the treaty of Breda, restored to them." [*Edwards' Hist. of W. Indies*, II, 144.] About two hundred and fifty of the fugitives arrived at Boston, in the spring of 1666, and provision was made, by the General Court, for the relief of such of them as were destitute, or required pecuniary aid. [*Hutch. Hist. of Mass.* I, 236.] In 1703, the Islands of St. Christopher's and Nevis being again ravaged by the French, liberal contributions were made in New-England, for the relief of the distressed inhabitants. The whole amount raised for this generous purpose, was about two thousand pounds. Cargoes of flour, salt provisions, and materials for building, were purchased, and sent in two ships to these Islands. [*Holmes' Annals*, II, 81.] In Plymouth Church Records, May 5, 1706, is the following entry: "We had a contribution for the Island of St. Christopher's, who had been lately insulted and ruined by the French. We gathered for them six pounds ten shillings. The contribution was throughout the province." Upon the news of the great fire in London, 1666, a collection was made in Massachusetts for the relief of the sufferers. The amount, says Governour Hutchinson, cannot be ascertained; but he mentions that one hundred and five pounds was collected in a single Church, that of Charlestown.

though, through the mercy of our good God, there is no breaking in, nor going out into captivity, nor complaining in our streets; yet we have been threatened with invasion by foreign force, and sometimes in expectation thereof; as also we are not to slight the hand of God in his late sore strokes in taking away so many by thunder and lightning, to the great amazement and terrour of many. As also, God's continued strokes in drought, blasting, and mildew, with which much of the fruits of the earth have been destroyed. All which, considered, ought to induce us to search and try our ways, and to enter into a strict and serious examination of our hearts and lives, and having found out what those sins are that are most provoking to the Majesty of Heaven, we may reform them, whether in church, in state, in family, or in persons; that so he may not stir up all his wrath, but yet may delight over us to do us good, from the beginning of the year to the end thereof.*

* Mr. Samuel Danforth, whose treatise relative to the Comet of 1664, is mentioned by Mr. Morton, was minister of Roxbury, colleague of the Rev. Mr. Eliot. Though he considered Comets as portentous, he seems to have entertained more just ideas relative to their constitution, than had, before, generally prevailed; maintaining that they are not meteors or exhalations, but *celestial luminaries, moving in the starry heavens*. Dr. C. Mather, commenting on the learned labours of Mr. Danforth, though he will not entirely reject the opinion relative to their ominous character, yet discovers a hesitating assent. "I am sometimes ready to say," he observes, "with a learned man, *ædet me divinationis in re tum incerta*." [*Magnal*, IV, 156.] If the history of Comets, should, in this respect, be attentively studied, and if the approximate events were faithfully noted, it would probably appear that they have not more frequently been attended or followed by disastrous incidents, than by those which have been beneficial. Milton's conceptions on the subject were well adapted for poetic purposes.

"Like a comet burn'd,
That fires the length of Ophi~~us~~us huge,
In th' arctic sky, and from his horrid hair
Shakes pestilence and war."

checked

This year it pleased God to smite the fruits of the earth, viz. the wheat, in special, with blasting and mildew, whereby much of it was utterly spoiled, and be-

Such representations are so consonant to a prevalent bias in the human mind, for the marvellous, as very much to impede the introduction of more correct and rational opinions. The attempt to weaken a confidence in such interpretations is often found to be revolting. It is cherished by some persons, with a sort of pious awe, which fears to offend by the reception of more cheerful and consoling contemplations. To such we may observe, with a serious and intelligent writer, "The heavens do, indeed, declare the power and glory of God; but the Bible has no where taught us to look up there for the revelation of future events, or an authentic declaration of the divine will, on subjects moral or political.—Why is every thing, which the unlearned choose to call a prodigy, clothed in the habiliments of death, and indicative of nothing but calamity? No sufficient reason can be given, from observation, from history, or from divine revelation, why these appearances, if they signify any thing, may not as often be signs of peace and prosperity, as of famine, pestilence, or the sword. When men live in a state of servile fear and timorous apprehension, falling into dismay and consternation at every unusual phenomenon in the air or commotion of the earth, and concluding that wrath and judgment are by these appearances denounced upon them; such a state of mind has a tendency to extinguish all high and generous thoughts of God, and to reduce religion under the bondage of an abject and gloomy superstition. If, among other benefits of the reformation, we have learnt that the Bible contains the religion of protestants, it is high time that we renounce all other oracles but those which are inspired by the Holy Ghost, and in these we shall find abundant information concerning the signs which indicate the divine displeasure."

The remarks here quoted are from a judicious paper in the *Christian Observer*, [Vol. III,] entitled, *Explanation of certain phenomena supposed to be supernatural*. They may suggest considerations particularly salutary to some minds, whose preconceptions on this subject might be unduly strengthened by the observations and opinions of the revered author of the Memorial. In general, however, it is obvious, that more enlarged, and, we cannot but believe, more just conceptions on this subject are embraced, than heretofore prevailed. "Every body must have remarked," says a writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, "how far the comet of 1811 was from being viewed with terror, (in this country at least) even by the least instructed of the people, and from exciting any sentiment but admiration of its extraordinary beauty." [No. XLVI, Sept. 1814.] A similar remark was made relative to our own country, in a supplement to a new edition of Dr. Winthrop's Lecture, and Mr. Oliver's Essay on Comets, published in 1811, in which some opinions advanced by Dr. Increase Mather, on the subject of Comets, were considered. "Whatever alarming apprehensions," it was observed, "Dr. Mather's book might have excited at the time of its publication, they do not appear to have descended to this generation. Those mysterious strangers now receive a cordial welcome. Their gentle radiance has an air of clem-

came profitable for nothing, and much of it worth little, being light and empty. This was looked at, by the judicious and conscientious of the land, as a speaking providence against the unthankfulness of many for so great a mercy, and their murmuring, expressed in their words, by slighting and undervaluing terms of it; as also against voluptuousness, and abuse of the good creatures of God, by licentiousness in drinking, and fashions in apparel; for the obtaining whereof, a great part of this principal grain was oftentimes unnecessarily expended. This so sad a dispensation, with other particulars, occasioned the observation of some days in a way of humiliation before the Lord, somewhat more frequently than ordinary. Let it also be observed, that yet in judgment he remembered mercy, by affording a plentiful harvest of other sorts of grain, so as the country suffered not in respect of the want of bread this year, but had plenty thereof.

This year also, his Majesty's commissioners, viz. Col. Richard Nicolls, Sir Robert Carr, knight, George Cartwright, Esq. and Samuel Maverick, Esq. arrived at Boston, in New-England, in the month of July; the tenour of whose commission was, in special, to reduce the Dutch at the Manhato's to his Majesty's obedience; which, in some short time, was accomplished; and the place and jurisdiction thereof, surrendered up

ency, and is viewed with calm complacence." Sentiments of this tranquil and consoling character, should not be suffered to degenerate into levity or indifference. "It is not to be denied," says the learned Dr. Winthrop, "that the all-wise Author of nature designed so remarkable a sort of bodies for important purposes, both natural and moral, in his creation;" and he invites our attentive and reverent contemplation of these *exotic stars*, which "serve to raise in our minds most sublime conceptions of God, and particularly display his exquisite

unto his Majesty's said commissioners, who stiled it by the name of New-York, and placed a government over it of his Majesty's subjects, the aforesaid Colonel Richard Nicolls being Governour in chief there. And whereas they were likewise commissioned to hear and determine such differences as might be amongst the colonies, in respect unto the bounds of their jurisdictions; some such differences were by them heard, and in special betwixt Plimouth and Rhode-Island, and such settlement therein concluded as they were capacitated unto. As also sundry propositions were by them made to several of the respective jurisdictions, which, together with the agitations concerning them, and the answers unto them, are elsewhere extant.*

* These Commissioners, were empowered "to visit the several colonies of New-England, to hear and determine complaints and appeals, in matters civil, military, and criminal; and to provide for the peace and security of the country, according to their good and sound discretion, and to such instructions as they should receive from the king." The commission, at large, is in Hazard's Collections, II, 638, 639, and in the Appendix to the first volume of Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts. Colonel Nicolls had three hundred troops under his command, with four frigates, for the reduction of the Dutch at Manhattan. Governour Stuyvesant surrendered the fort and town of New-Amsterdam, on the 27th of August. The place then received the name of New-York, in honour of the Duke of York. On the 24th of September, Fort Orange capitulated, and was afterward called Albany. Thomas Clark and John Pynchon, from Massachusetts, attended the Commissioners by appointment from the General Court. They were also joined by Governour Winthrop, and several of the magistrates and principal gentlemen of Connecticut. From Plymouth Colony they were attended by Thomas Willet, who appears by letters now existing, to have greatly recommended himself to the Commissioners by his activity and intelligence. Dr. Holmes informs us, on the authority of President Stiles' Manuscript Memorandum, that Mr. Willet was the first Mayor of New-York, after the conquest. Col. Nicolls, in a letter to Governour Prince, written from New-York, the spring after the reduction of the Dutch settlements, requests that Captain Willet may have such dispensation from his official engagements in Plymouth Colony, as to be at liberty to assist in the modelling and reducing the affairs, in those settlements, into good English. He remarks, that Mr. Willet was more acquainted with the manners and customs of the Dutch than any Englishman in the country and that his conversation was very acceptable to them.

They likewise presented the honoured Governour of the jurisdiction of Plimouth, as to the colony, with a gracious letter from his majesty, the contents whereof are as followeth:

*To our trusty and well-beloved, our Governour and
Council of New-Plimouth, greeting.*

CHARLES REX.

TRUSTY and well-beloved, we greet you well. We need not enlarge upon our care of, and affection to that our plantation of New-Plimouth, when we give you such a testimony and manifestation of it, in the sending of those gentlemen, persons well known unto us, and deserving from us, our trusty and well-beloved Col. Richard Nicolls, Sir Robert Carr, knight, George Cartwright, Esq. and Samuel Maverick, Esq. our commissioners to visit you, and other our plantations in those parts of New-England, and to give us a full and particular information and account of your present state and condition, and how the same may be advanced and improved by any further acts of grace and favour from us toward you; and that both you and all the world may know and take notice, that we take you into our immediate protection, and will no more suffer you to be oppressed or injured by any foreign power, or ill neighbours, than we would suffer our other subjects that live upon the same continent with us, to be so injured and oppressed. And as our care and protection will, we doubt not, be sufficient,

with God's blessing, to defend you from foreign force; so our care and circumspection is, no less, that you may live in peace amongst yourselves, and with those our other subjects who have planted themselves in your neighbour colonies, with that justice, affection, and brotherly love, which becomes subjects born under the same prince, and in the same country, and of the same faith and hope in the mercies of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. And to the end there may be no contentions and differences between you, in respect of the bounds and jurisdiction of your several colonies; the hearing and determining whereof we have referred to our commissioners, as the right appears by clear evidence and testimony before them, or that they can settle it by your mutual consent and agreement; otherwise, in cases of difficulty, they shall present the same to us, who will determine according to our own wisdom and justice. The address you formerly made to us, gave us so good satisfaction of your duty, loyalty, and affection to us, that we have not the least doubt that you will receive those commissioners in such manner as becomes you, and as may manifest your respect and affection towards us, from whom they are sent. They will let you know the resolution we have to preserve all your liberties and privileges, both ecclesiastical and civil, without the least violation; which we presume will dispose you to manifest, by all ways in your power, loyalty and affection to us, that all the world may know that you do look upon yourselves as being as much our subjects, and living under the same obedience under

us, as if you continued in your natural country. And so we bid you farewell.

Given at our court, at Whitehall, April 23, 1664, in the sixteenth year of our reign.

By his Majesty's special command.

HENRY BENNET.*

* After the reduction of the Dutch, on Hudson River, the Commissioners proceeded to execute the other branches of their instructions. For this purpose, they held conferences, first, with the governments of Plymouth, Rhode-Island, and Connecticut. In those colonies they appear to have been satisfied with their reception. Connecticut and Rhode-Island had recently received very acceptable charters. Plymouth was soliciting a similar favour, and was thus rendered, says Hutchinson, more pliable and obsequious than its neighbour Massachusetts, where the proceedings of the Commissioners were vigilantly regarded, and, in several instances, strenuously opposed. Soon after their arrival in the country, the General Court of Massachusetts, at a special session, after respectful professions of fidelity and allegiance, resolved to adhere to their patent, "so dearly obtained, and so long enjoyed, by undoubted right in the sight of God and men." From this resolution, they in no instance swerved, in any of their transactions with the Commissioners. Governor Hutchinson suggests, that the Commission might have been prevented, if the milder requisitions, which were the result of Mr. Norton's agency, had been more respectfully received: but in conclusion of his narrative of the proceedings of the Commissioners, "it cannot be denied," he says, "that the Commission was a stretch of power, superseding, in many respects, the authority and powers granted by their Charter." He observes, that the Commissioners had no better success in Connecticut, than in Massachusetts; but it appears, that the propositions to that Colony and to Plymouth were nearly alike, as were also the answers, which were satisfactory to the Commissioners, and the King's letters to Connecticut and to Plymouth, in 1665, are exactly similar. In both there is a commendation of their dutifulness and obedience; a carriage, it is said, "which seems to be set off with the more lustre by the contrary deportment of the Colony of the Massachusetts." [See *Hutch. Hist. Mass. I., Appen. No. XVIII. Trumb. Hist. of Connect. I., Appen. No. XXII.*] For the propositions to Plymouth, and their reply, see Appendix X.

The correctness of Governor Hutchinson's sketches of the dispositions and character of the Commissioners, is confirmed by such of their letters as we have had opportunity to peruse. Several of these were among the Winslow papers, at Marshfield. Colonel Nicolls, in his epistolary intercourse, is discreet and respectful. He seems mindful of the duties assigned to him, but solicitous to discharge them in the mildest and most acceptable manner. Some of Cartwright's letters are of a very different character. They discover a vulgar and undisciplined mind, preposterously elated by his brief authority.

After the said his Majesty's commissioners had visited several of the jurisdictions of New-England, and were courteously entertained in every of them, the said honourable Colonel Richard Nicolls is settled at New-York, for the present, being Governour there, as is before noted. George Cartwright, Esq. went for England, in the latter end of the year, with Mr. Benjamin Gillam, and was taken by the Dutch, and afterwards, with some difficulty, arrived in England. Sir Robert Carr is, at the present, at Delaware, and Mr. Samuel Maverick at Boston.*

1665.

THIS year Mr. Thomas Prince was elected Governour of the jurisdiction of New-Plimouth. Mr. William Collier, Mr. John Alden, Major Josias Winslow, Capt. Thomas Southworth, Capt. William Bradford, Mr. Thomas Hinkley, and Mr. James Brown, were chosen assistants to him in government.

In the spring of this year, that honourable gentleman, Mr. John Endicut, Governour of the jurisdic-

In Hutchinson's Collection of Papers, is a copy of the Commissioners' narrative and report of their proceedings to the King. At Plymouth they say they had "but one plaint to them, which was, that the Governour would not let a man enjoy a farm of four miles square, which he had bought of an Indian." There was then in the Colony, they say, "about twelve small towns, one saw-mill for boards, one bloomary for iron, neither good river nor good harbour, nor any place of strength." The bloomary was in that part of Taunton now Raynham. The saw-mill, it is believed, was in Pembroke, then part of Duxbury.

* The said Sir Robert Carr, since that, went for England, in the year 1667. He arrived at Bristol, and died there June 1, the next day after he came ashore. About that time it was thought, by such as were judicious, that through the instigation of the said Maverick, (whose spirit was full of malignity against the country,) our both civil and religious liberties were much endangered; and the rather for that, probably, there would have been a concurrence of divers ill-affected in the land, had not the Lord prevented. M.

tion of the Massachusetts, changed this life for a better. He was a very virtuous gentleman, and was greatly honoured and beloved of the most, as he well deserved. He arrived at Salem in the year 1628, and had the chief command of those that, at the first, there seated, and bare a deep share of the difficulties of those first beginnings, which were great, by reason especially of the great sickness and mortality that was then amongst them, as hath been before noted. There he continued, until the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts saw reason to desire his removal to Boston, for the more convenient administration of justice, as Governour of the said jurisdiction, to which he was frequently elected, for many years together, with little intermission; and in which honourable service he served God and the country, until old age, and the infirmities thereof, coming upon him, he fell asleep in the Lord, and was, with great honour and solemnity, interred at Boston.*

* Mr. Endicot died on the fifteenth of March, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. His impetuous zeal, in an early period of the Colony, and his adherence to Mr. Roger Williams, were disagreeable to many of the people, as well as to the government, and in 1635 he was left out of the magistracy. The better parts of his character were not unnoticed, and he gradually regained the public estimation. In 1641 he was chosen Deputy Governour, and in 1644 was placed in the chair. Views were then entertained, by the leading people in Essex, to establish the seat of government at Saem; but this plan was counteracted, and not afterward resumed. The next year Mr. Winthrop again received the suffrages of the people, and was afterward annually elected to the office of Governour, until his death. Mr. Endicot succeeded Mr. Winthrop, in 1649, and was Governour of the Colony until his death, excepting in the year 1654, when Mr. Bellingham was elected. Dr. Robertson styles Mr. Endicot *a deep enthusiast*; and it is certain that his energetic mind was, not unfrequently, directed to the rigid enforcement of frivolous observances. One of the first acts of his administration, in 1649, after he had taken the place of the more judicious Winthrop, was to institute a solemn association against long hair. Well might the historian remark, that, "about this time, the scrupulosity of the good people of the Colony was at the height."

This year it pleased God to cause a sad dispensation of his hand to pass before us, in reference to the sudden death of Captain Davenport, who, in the month of July, was slain, as he lay on his bed, with a blow of thunder and lightning. He was a man of

[*Hutch. Hist.* I, 142.] It were happy for the memory of Mr. Endicot, and for the reputation of the country, if his tenacious spirit could have been content with the enforcement of such regulations. After the opposition to Mrs. Hutchinson, in which he participated, "he began to be as a sovereign against all the sects," says the Author of the Description of Salem, "and, as a magistrate, did not bear his sword in vain." The severe law against the Quakers, made in 1658, while he was Governour, did not remain unexecuted. Four of these unhappy people suffered death, during his administration. Many more endured cruel scourgings and imprisonment. A returning sense of humanity began to produce a mitigation of these atrocities, when they were ultimately discontinued, upon the King's truly gracious letter of September 9, 1661. The bloody laws were repealed, the dawn of toleration appeared, which has since advanced to a cheering light, and redeemed the character of the country. It is painful to recur to the lamentable proceedings under those reprehensible acts; but humanity and justice forbid a writer, on the affairs of those times, to draw a veil over such transactions. But, as Dr. Belknap justly observes, "to keep alive a spirit of resentment and reproach to the country, on account of those ancient transactions, which are now universally condemned, would discover a temper not very consistent with that meekness and forgiveness, which ought to be cultivated by all who profess to be influenced by the Gospel."

It is observed in the *Magnalia*, that, after the death of Mr. Dudley, the notice and respect of the Colony fell chiefly on Mr. Endicot. He was at the head of the Colony during the difficult and critical period of the great political dissensions and civil war in England. Mr. Endicot's bias in that controversy was apparent, and corresponded with that of the country; but the public proceedings were temperate and wise. He was in the chair when the Commissioners arrived at Boston, and when the firm resolve was passed, which has been mentioned in a preceding note. In answer to a petition to the King, which was at that time prepared, Secretary Morice was instructed to request, that, at the next election, some other person might be elected Governour, in the place of Mr. Endicot. He died before the influence of this recommendation could be ascertained. But as his integrity and firmness, in the great political questions then in agitation, merited the confidence and gratitude of his country, there can be no doubt that the royal intimation to his prejudice would have been altogether disregarded.

There is a good portrait of Mr. Endicot in one of the apartments of the State House in Boston. There also may be seen the pictures of Winthrop, Leverett, Bradstreet, and the Rev. John Higginson. The countenance of Winthrop is mild and thoughtful. Endicot appears eager and animated. We cannot doubt there is a faithful preservation of the likeness, in both instances.

some eminency, being betruſted with the command of the caſtle in the Maſſachuſetts; at which ſaid caſtle he was ſlain as aforeſaid. The more ought this ſo ſad ſtroke of God to be conſidered, and laid to heart, and improved for our humiliation, and the amendment of our lives before the great and terrible God, who ſo aloud ſpake unto us in this ſo ſad and-awing a providence.

This year it pleaſed the Lord again to ſtrike the wheat of this country, in a more general way, than the laſt year, with blaſting and mildew, whereby the greateſt part of it was ſpoiled, and the ploughman's hopes, in that reſpect, very much fruſtrated. How-beit, the Lord ſtill mixed with this affliction very much mercy, in ſparing the other grain, whereby the country was in ſome good meaſure ſupplied.*

1666.

This year Mr. Thomas Prince was choſen Governour of the jurisdiction of New-Plimouth. Mr. John Alden, Major Joſias Winſlow, Captain Thomas Southworth, Captain William Bradford, Mr. Thomas Hinkley, Mr. James Brown, and Lieut. John Freeman, were choſen to be his aſſiſtants in government.

This year it pleaſed God to go on in a manifeſtation of his diſpleaſure againſt New-England, in a very remarkable manner, by ſtriking dead, in a moment, by a blow of thunder, three perſons in the town of Marſhfield, in the jurisdiction of New-Plimouth, in the month of June, viz. one named William Shirtliff,

* In this year, ſays Governour Hutchinson, was the firſt perſecution of the Baptiſts. [Hist. of Maſs. I. 208.]

and a woman and a youth; which sad dispensation of God's hand, being considered, with some circumstances, gave cause to the beholders to be much astonished; the said Shirliff having his wife by the hand, and sitting by her to cheer her, in respect that the said storm was so fierce, he was slain, and she preserved, though in some measure scorched with the lightning; yea, he had one of his children in his arms, and himself slain, and the child preserved. We have likewise received intelligence of four more, that about that time were slain by thunder and lightning, about Piscataqua, and divers more hurt. At the time of this storm of thunder and lightning, in the which those of Marshfield died, there arose likewise a very great whirlwind, that, where it came, it tore up trees by the roots, though through mercy it did little other hurt.

It was a great while, and many years spent, since the English came into these parts, before any very considerable hurt was done by thunder and lightning, to either man, or beast, appertaining to them, although, sometimes, very fierce storms of that kind, as frequently as in these times. But now, how doth the Lord go on gradually, in this, as in other judgments, here in New-England; first, by striking cattle, and then one person at a time, and this year divers, to the number of seven, besides some cattle also.

Thus God thundereth marvellously with his voice, he worketh great things which we know not. [Job xxxvii, 5, and xxxviii, 35, and xl, 8.] He can send the lightnings that they may walk, and say, Lo here we are. Hath any an arm like God? Or can any thunder with a voice like him? By this his terrible

voice he breaketh the cedars, and divideth the flames of fire, [Psalm xxix, 5, 7,] which he commissionates to do his pleasure, sometimes not only striking cedars, but great oaks, in a wonderful manner, sometimes beasts, sometimes men and women. If God's judgments have thus been abroad in the earth, how ought the inhabitants of New-England to learn righteousness? [Isa. xxvi, 9.] How easily can the Lord stain the pride of our glory with a stroke of his hand? Let not the familiarness or frequency of such providences, cause them to be neglected by us, to improve them as God would have us, to fear before him, [Eccles. viii, 13,] and to turn from such iniquities, especially, as are most displeasing unto him, and to hold our lives in our hands, and to be in a readiness for his pleasure, lest knowing not our time, as the fishes that are taken in an evil net, and as the birds that are caught in the snare, [Eccles. ix, 12,] so we shall be snared in an evil time, when it falleth suddenly upon us.

This year the Lord threatened the country with that infectious and contagious disease, the small-pox, which began at Boston, whereof some few died; but through his great mercy it is stayed, and none of late have died thereof.

This year the Lord likewise threatened, and, in some measure, executed his displeasure upon the country by drought; but, through his mercy, hath, of late, sent plenty of rain, for the recovering of the fruits of the earth. Although it is to be observed, that soon after a day of humiliation was observed, by some congregations, for the blessing of rain, in the drought above mentioned, that sad stroke by the thunder and

lightning, at Marshfield, fell out; So that we may say with the Psalmist unto the Lord, *By terrible things in righteousness thou hast answered us, O God of our salvation.*

Also this year there hath been some ground of fear of invasion by foreign enemies; but hitherto the Lord hath kept us.

This year much of the wheat is destroyed with blasting and mildew, as also some other grain, by worms, and the drought afore mentioned; but the Lord hath sent much rain for the recovery of the remainder, through his great mercy.*

This is the third year, in succession, marked by the blasting of the growth of wheat, a calamity which is first noticed, in the Memorial, in 1664. It was then a new occurrence in the country, but having continued, more or less, for divers years together, says Governour Hutchinson, the people were discouraged from sowing wheat, "little having been raised since, except in the towns upon Connecticut river." This remark was made, when the first volume of the History of Massachusetts was published, in the year 1760. Since that period, wheat has not been a constant crop, in that State, in any places nearer to the sea-coast than the County of Worcester. From some recent experiments, with a particular species of wheat, many intelligent agriculturists, are encouraged to hope, that this valuable grain may again be raised near the sea.

The Agricultural Society of Massachusetts, have attended to this subject, with laudable zeal; and it is of such general interest, that the Editor is induced to subjoin the following notices, with which he has been favoured, from an esteemed friend, upon whom he could depend for accurate information.

"During the last half century, the culture of wheat, within thirty or forty miles of the sea-board of Massachusetts, had been entirely neglected, owing to a belief, derived from the experience of our ancestors, that it could not be raised there with any advantage. That it was so generally subject to blight, or mildew, as to render it an unprofitable crop, cannot be questioned. The causes of this failure were, and still are, very imperfectly understood. The late interruptions of the usual supply, and the consequent high prices of wheat flour, induced, within a few years, a more strict attention to the subject. It was soon found, that a species of spring or summer wheat had been, for many years, successfully cultivated at Londonderry, in the State of New-Hampshire, and that it had, by degrees, spread into the towns bordering on that State. In 1813, a quantity of this particular species of wheat was sown in Brooklyn, and with such success as to induce the Agricultural Society of Massachusetts to encourage some extensive experiments, during the last year. The result was, that it succeeded in a great variety of soils

This year, about the middle of July, Mr. Thomas Prince, Governour of the jurisdiction of Plimouth, Capt. Thomas Southworth, Mr. John Eliot, sen. Mr. John Eliot, jun. Mr. Samuel Arnold, Mr. John Holmes, Mr. William Brimsmead, and Mr. Thomas Cushman, gave meeting to Mr. Richard Bourn, of Sandwich, in reference to the taking notice of what proficiency the Indians, under the instruction of the said Mr. Bourn, have attained unto, in the knowledge of God in Christ, and their interest in him by faith; and to make such professions or confessions as they should openly make thereof, to the glory of God, and the satisfaction of the saints, in order unto their joining into church fellowship.

And the Lord was pleased to come in unto some of them, so as they gave good satisfaction unto the said honoured and judicious persons forenamed, then assembled, in reference to the premises; so that it was concluded by them, that what had passed from the Indians, in that behalf, should be drawn up in writing, and copies thereof exhibited to the churches of the jurisdiction of Plimouth, such of them as are neigh-

and situations, on the coast, and within ten miles of it. The average crop was about sixteen bushels to the acre, exceeding, as it is said, the average produce of the wheat-growing states. Some persons had a much larger crop than this, and from the uniform success of the experiments, during a year by no means favourable, it is confidently expected, that this valuable grain will become, if not a staple article, at least one of general culture. It has since been ascertained, that in many towns, within the distance above mentioned from the sea, it has been successfully cultivated for seven years past.

"That the failure, in times past, may have been owing, and probably has been occasioned, by the quality of the species formerly cultivated, may be inferred from some recent publications in Great Britain, by which it appears, that their winter wheat is very subject to blight, or mildew, and that they have been induced to substitute the spring or summer wheat, which, by experience, they have found to be less liable to this evil."

bouring near unto them, and if nothing should be then objected, that then, in due and convenient time, they should be permitted and encouraged to enter into church fellowship, as aforesaid.

Now, although I doubt not but the passages of these things will be, in due time, published by a better pen; yet I have made bold here to insert so much as I have been informed of them, in regard that they are the first fruits of the jurisdiction of New-Plimouth, that have come on to so good perfection in this kind.*

This year, in the month of December, it pleased God to take unto himself, by death, that worthy servant of Christ, Mr. William Thompson, who was a lively dispenser of the word of God, and very affectionate in the delivery thereof. It pleased God to bless his labours to the conversion of many souls. He was sometime, together with Mr. Knowles, sent unto Virginia, by the elders of the churches of the

* Mr. Southworth was then an assistant, and occasionally served in other public employments. He married a daughter of the Rev. Mr. Reyner, and died in 1669, aged sixty-three. Mr. Arnold was minister at Marshfield. Mr. Holmes succeeded Mr. Partridge, at Duxbury. Thomas Cushman was ruling elder of the church at Plymouth; and Mr. Brimsmead, had, about that time, been preaching at Plymouth, before the settlement of Mr. Cotton. He was afterward settled at Marlborough. Some notice of the other persons, named in the text, have been given in the preceding pages. This meeting was at Mashipaug, or Mashpee, as it is now called. We perceive, in this part of Secretary Morton's narrative, a confirmation of Dr. C. Mather's remarks, of the extreme caution with which the Indian converts were admitted to church fellowship. "They seemed rather to augment, than abate, their usual strictness, when the examination of the Indians was to be performed. A day was therefore set apart, which they called, *Nu-tootomahteackesuk*; or a day of asking questions, when the ministers of the adjacent churches, assisted with all the best interpreters that could be had, publicly examined a good number of these Indians, about their attainment in knowledge and virtue." [*Magnal.* III, 197.]

The Church they denominated, an *inclosed garden*. It were happy, if a solicitude for uniformity, and an attachment to the peculiarities of a theological system, should, in no instance, have erected, around the garden, a fence of thorns.

Massachusetts, being requested by a message, sent by some in Virginia, for some help in preaching God's word amongst them. The fruit and benefit of whose labours therein still remaineth upon the souls of some eminent in this land. He was elected and ordained to be pastor of the church of Christ at Braintree, in New-England; in which office he served Christ many years, until old age coming upon him, and the prevailing of his melancholy distemper, did in a manner wholly disable him from that service; and Satan taking advantage thereby, he was under sad desertions and trouble of spirit. At which time the reverend elders and others of the aforesaid jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, were very officious for his recovery, and, in sense of his sad condition, offered up many prayers to God for him, and, in God's good time, they received a gracious answer; so as, in his weakness and sickness, it pleased God to come in unto his soul, and to remove the cloud of darkness that was upon his spirit, so that with much peace and comfort he fell asleep in the Lord, and was honourably buried at Braintree. *Mark the upright man, and behold the just; for the end of that man is peace.**

1667.

MR. Thomas Prince was chosen Governour of the jurisdiction of New-Plimouth. Mr. John Alden,

* Mr. Thompson was settled at Braintree, in 1639. He died at the age of 68. Dr. Eliot observes, that he was considered an author of some reputation; but, that except one or two prefaces, to the books of others, none of his publications have come down to us. [*Biog. Dict.* 455.] In the *Magnalia*, [III, 119,] we have "Remarks on the bright and the dark side of that American pillar," alluding to the unhappy melancholy, with which Mr. Thompson, was, occasionally, afflicted.

Major Josias Winslow, Capt. Thomas Southworth, Capt. William Bradford, Mr. Thomas Hinkley, Mr. John Freeman, and Mr. Nathaniel Bacon, were chosen assistants to him in government.

This year, on the last day of November, being the last day of the next* week, there was heard several loud noises, or reports, as if it had been guns discharged in the air, first one, distinctly, and in a short time, as it had been a volley of shot discharged. It was especially heard and observed at Nantasket, and related by sundry of them of good credit.

In the spring following, in the beginning of March, there appeared a sign in the heavens, in the form of a spear, something thicker in the midst than at either end, of a whitish, bright colour; it was seen, several nights together, in the west, about an hour within the night; it stood stooping, and the one end pointing to the setting of the sun, and so settled downward, by little and little, until it quite vanished, and descended beneath our horizon. God awaken us that we be not heedless spectators of his wonderful works.†

* The word *next* may be considered as superfluous in this place, and as introduced inadvertently; but the Editor will not take the liberty to expunge it. He is indeed, inclined to suppose, that there might, at that time, have been an use of the word *next*, which would render it applicable to the week, to which the day belonged, and that there might be a difference, between *next*, and *next following*. He is not prepared, however, at present, to maintain this conjecture, by any decisive authorities. Though some examples might be cited, both in our own and other languages, which would favour the suggestion.

† Governour Hutchinson speaking of the strange sights, which were said to be seen about the castle, and Governour's Island, after the destruction of the ship *Rose*, with a number of her people, in 1643, in Boston harbour, by an explosion of Gunpowder, makes the following remark; "From manuscripts and printed accounts, I could collect as many prodigies in one part of the country and another, at different times, as would fill a small volume.—This turn of mind was not peculiar at this time to the people of New-England; it was prevalent in England. If

This year, the seventh of August, it pleased the Lord to call home to himself, the reverend, ancient, and godly pastor of the church at Boston, Mr John Wilson. He was a truly reverend and holy man of

the New-Englanders exceeded, the new scenes they had just entered upon may in some measure account for it. They had an ocean, a thousand leagues in extent, between them and all the delights of life which they had once enjoyed. On their backs they had a wilderness without limits. As soon as it was dark, their ears were filled with the roaring of wolves and other savage beasts; or, which was much worse, the yells of savage men. Where there was any gloom upon the mind, such a scene must tend to increase it." The general prevalence of such a bias, and the just view here presented of the motives by which it was excited or strengthened, might lead to a too hasty rejection of any accounts given by our early writers of uncommon appearances in nature. The noises in the air, correspond with meteorological phenomena, of not unfrequent occurrence, affirmed by observers and writers free from superstitious apprehensions. The spear-form, luminous appearance, was seen at the same time in Canada, as we learn from Charlevoix. It was observed by Cassini, in ten successive evenings, at Bologna, in Italy. It was seen, also, at Lisbon, extending over almost a fourth part of the heavens, from West to East. We have an account of a similar appearance, at the same time, which was noticed by intelligent observers, at St. Salvador, on the coast of Brazil, and at the Cape of Good Hope. [*Lowth. Abridg. of Philos. Transactions*, I, 458.] Cassini quotes a passage from Charlin, giving an account of an uncommon light in the heavens, at the same time, in Persia. [*Journ. de Scavans. Mai. 1683.*] The description, given in the Memorial, would lead us to a conclusion, that this was the Zodiacal light, a phenomenon now familiar to Astronomers, and which Cassini first attempted to explain; but if it were the same light, which was seen by Cassini at Bologna, its situation in the heavens, which he exactly describes and delineates, would not admit us to regard it as the Zodiacal light. It may be supposed, therefore, to have been, as it was then considered, in Europe, the tail of a comet, whose body was beneath the horizon. The brightness of the appearance, as seen in some places, also favours this supposition. At Brazil, "it cast itself with that vividness upon the sea, that the rays thereof were reverberated unto the shore where the observers stood." The Zodiacal light is not distinguished for its brightness. Charlevoix informs us, that this appearance was viewed, by the people in Canada, as the forerunner of some grievous calamity. They believed that it announced some shocks of earthquakes which were, not long afterward, perceived, and a sickness, which prevailed in the following autumn. They also dreaded a failure of the harvest. But no malign influence, adds the historian, affected the fields, and the harvest was very abundant. Mr. Neal observes, that this appearance and some other incidents excited the Magistrates to promote a reformation of manners, and he gives a copy of an address, for that purpose, from the Governour and Council, to the elders and ministers of every town in Massachusetts. The authors of the Universal History, [Vol. XXXIX, 300,] probably following Mr. Neal, give a similar account. Some dreadful event, they say, was apprehended, but

God. He came to New-England in the year 1630. He was instrumental in the first beginnings of the church of Boston, having been the pastor of it three years before Mr. Cotton, twenty years with him; ten years with Mr. Norton, and four years after him; thirty-seven in all. And in all the changes of time that passed over him, he was full of faith and prayer, and eminent for sincerity and humility, being ever low in his own eyes, and for the grace of love, he had largeness of heart as the sand of the sea, to do good to all. He was very charitable where was any signs and hopes of good; and yet, withal, very zealous against known and manifest evils. He was orthodox in his judgment, and very holy in his conversation. Very few that ever went out of the world so generally beloved and revered as this good man. He was a good man indeed, and full of the Holy Ghost. He lived to a good old age, and was full of days, and full of honour, being in the seventy-ninth year of his age, when the Lord took him to himself. He was interred with much honour and lamentation.

In the time of his languishing sickness, he was visited by the elders round about, especially on the sixteenth of May, the day after the court of election, when there being a general meeting of all the elders of the churches, at his house, they requested Mr. Wilson

add, "the only thing of that kind, that happened, was a renewal of their own persecutions against the baptists, and quakers, whom they ruined, by banishment, fines and imprisonment." The remark is severe, but must be admitted to be not altogether unmerited. It should be observed, however, that, if we except the brief exhortation in the Memorial, we find, in our New-England writers, no trace of any such terrors from this appearance, as are mentioned by Mr. Neal, and in the Universal History.

(because they knew not whether ever they should have the like opportunity to hear him speak again, and having been, from the first, a pillar amongst them, and of much experience in his observation of the state of things) that he would solemnly declare unto them, what he conceived to be those sins amongst us, which provoked the displeasure of God against the country. He then told them, that he had, divers times, and long feared these sins following, as chief, among others, which God was greatly provoked with, viz. Separation, Anabaptism, and Corahism.

This latter he did explain thus, viz. when people rise up as Corah, against their ministers or elders, as if they took too much upon them, when indeed, they do but rule for Christ, and according to Christ; yet, saith he, it is nothing for a brother to stand up, and oppose, without Scripture or reason, the doctrine and word of the elder, saying, I am not satisfied, &c. and hence, if he do not like the administration, be it baptism, or the like, he will then turn his back upon God and his ordinances, and go away, &c. And, saith he, for our neglect of baptising the children of the church, those that some call grand-children, I think God is provoked by it.

Another sin I take to be, the making light of, and not subjecting to the authority of Synods, without which the churches cannot long subsist. And so for the magistrates being Gallio like, either not caring for these things, or else not using their power and authority for the maintenance of the truth, and gospel and ordinances of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and for the bearing thorough witness against the contrary.

Should the Lord leave them hereunto, how miserable a people should we be!

At night, the assembly being dismissed with prayer, Mr. Wilson did, (being desired by them so to do,) in a solemn manner, bless the elders, making a short prayer, saying, "I am not like long to be with you; the Lord pardon us, and heal us, and make us more heavenly, and take us off from the world, and make us burning and shining lights, by our heavenly doctrine and example. And I beseech the Lord, with all my heart, to bless you, and to bless his churches, and to bless all his people, and to bless all your families, and to bless your wives, and to bless all your children, and your children's children; and make us all more and more meet for our inheritance, and bring us all to it in his good time," &c. These words, with some few other, he spake with great affection, and with tears; and all the ministers wept with him, and they took their leave of him, even as children of their father, who having blessed them, was about to die.

Upon the death of that reverend, aged, ever honoured, and gracious servant of Christ, Mr. John Wilson, pastor of a church in Boston. Interred August 8, 1667.

Ah! now there's none who does not know,
 That this day in our Israel,
 Is fall'n a great and good man too,
 A Prince, I might have said as well:
 A man of princely power with God,
 For faith and love of princely spirit;
 Our Israel's chariots, horsemen good,
 By faith and prayer, though not by merit.
 Renown'd for practick piety
 In Englands both, from youth to age;

In Cambridge, Inns-Court, Sudbury,
And each place of his pilgrimage.
As humble as a little child,
When yet in real worth high-grown:
Himself a nothing still he stil'd,
When God so much had for him done.
In love, a none-such; as the sand,
With largest heart God did him fill;
A bounteous mind, an open hand,
Affection sweet, all sweet'ning still.
Love was his life; he dy'd in love;
Love doth embalm his memory;
Love is his bliss and joy, above
With God now who is love for ay:
A comprehending charity
To all, where ought appear'd of good;
And yet in zeal was none more high
Against th' apparent serpent's brood.
To truth he ever constant was,
In judgment wond'rous orthodox;
In truth's cause never fearing face,
As if he were another Knox.
The prelates and their impositions
Did never him conformist make,
But to avoid those superstitions,
Great worldly hopes did he forsake.
When in New-England, error's wind
From sundry other quarters blew;
No one could him conforming find,
Nought from the line of truth him drew.
Firm stood he 'gainst the familist,
And Antinomian spirit strong;
He never lov'd the Sep'ratist,
Nor yet the Anabaptist's throng.
Neither the tolerator's strain,
Nor Quaker's spirit could he brook;
Nor bow'd to the Morellian train,
Nor children's right did overlook.

Nor did he slight our liberties,
In civil and in church concerns,
But precious were they in his eyes,
Who stood among their fixed friends.
Grave saint in England twice did give
This farewell word to him; While you
Shall in that place (New-England) live,
No hurt shall happen thereunto.
Strange word, and strangely verify'd!
He this day goes to 's grave in peace,
What changes sad shall us betide,
Now he is gone, we cannot guess!
What evil are we hast'ning to!
Lord, spare thy people, but awaken,
When such away do from us go,
That yet we may not be forsaken!
He a first corner-stone was laid
In poor New-England's Boston's wall:
Death pulls this out, the breach is wide:
Oh let it not now tumble all!
He's now at rest and reigns in bliss;
In conflicts we are left behind,
In fears and straits; how shall we miss
His faith, prayer, zeal, and peaceful mind.
Lord, pour a double portion
Of his sweet, gracious, pious spirit,
On poor survivors; let each one
Somewhat thereof at least inherit!
Gaius, our host, ah now is gone!
Can we e'er look for such another?
But yet there is a mansion,
Where we may all turn in together.
No moving inn, but resting place,
Where his blest soul is gathered;
Where good men going are a pace
Into the bosom of their Head.
Ay, thither let us haste away,
Sure heaven will the sweeter be,

(If there we ever come to stay)

For him, and others such as he.

J. M.*

Upon the death of that most reverend man of God, Mr. John Wilson, pastor of the first church in Boston, in New-England; whose decease was August 7, 1667.

JOHN WILSON,

Anagr.

JOHN WILSON,

Oh change it not! No sweeter name or thing,
Throughout the world, within our ears shall ring.†

Whoso of Abr'am, Moses, Samuel reads,
Or of Elijah, or Elisha's deeds,
Would surely say their spirit and power was his,
And think there were a Metempsychosis,
Yea, like John Baptist in the wilderness,
So was our John in Patmos here, no less:
John, the divine, resembling therefore rather,
And of New-England's prophets was the father,
John, the divine, whose life a revelation
Of faith and love, and Christ to admiration,
John, the divine, whom Jesus lov'd most dear,
Sweet'ned with leaning on his bosom here:
This is that John, whose death who doth not moan,
Hath sure no heart of flesh, but one of stone.

* These initials suggest the name of Jonathan Mitchell; but the lines afford no evidence, that they were written by a man of his eminence.

† We cannot but be pleased with this dexterous escape from anagrammatic labours. Some of our predecessors seem to have had a different impression. "Methought," says Dr. C. Mather, "it looked like a piece of injustice, that his own funeral produced (among the many poems afterwards printed) no more anagrams upon his name, who had so often thus handled the names of others, and some thought the muses looked very much dissatisfied, when they saw these lines upon his hearse." [Magnul. III, 50.]

Mr. Wilson was distinguished for his hospitality. Mr. Ward, author of the Simple Cocker of Agawam, in allusion to this trait of character, observed, that the anagram of John Wilson was—I pray, come in, you are heartily welcome.

[ib.]

He had the countries faith, and love, and zeal,
 Even grace enough for church and common-weal;
 Whereby was propt up all the fabrick still,
 That else had tumbled down our Sion hill.
 Of meerly men deserving glory more,
 You'll find nor martyr, nor a confessor,
 Inspir'd he was with the prophetick spirit
 Of all the prophets, which he did inherit.
 'Twixt an apostle and evangelist,
 His order standeth in the heavenly list.
 If Paul himself among us dead had been,
 More tears or sorrow could not have been seen.
 They wept not more for this, that they should see
 His face no more, than now we mourners be.
 For heavenly poems most angelical,
 Composing volumes with delight, were all
 But gathered up in one, we should espy
 Enough to fill an university.
 And were another psalm-book made by thee,
 (Mictam of John)* their title it should be.
 As aged John th' apostle us'd to bless
 The people, which they judg'd their happiness:
 So we did count it worth our pilgrimage
 Unto him, for his blessing in his age;†
 Yet then, no babe more longing for the breast,
 Than he to take within the church his rest,
 To have the sincere milk of God's good word,
 Which to his soul all comfort did afford.
 Not heat, nor cold, nor rain, nor snow, must bar;
 But every where becomes an auditor.

* An allusion to the title of the sixteenth Psalm, in which the phrase *Michtam* of David occurs. The word *Michtam*, is supposed, by some, to be the name of a particular species of composition, and by others, of a musical instrument. A learned friend, referring to the Hebrew root of *Michtam*, suggests, that *Michtam* David, may imply something like Πυθαγόρεως χρυσὰ ἔκτα, the golden sayings of Pythagoras.

† "The most considerable persons in the country, thought it not much to come from far, and bring their children with them, for the enjoyment of his patriarchal benediction."

[*Magnal.* III, 49.]

Who ever laboured in the ministry,
 More given, than he, to hospitality?
 To strangers, widows, fatherless, and all;
 To friends and foes he was most liberal.
 Of all his prayers, sermons, travels, pains,
 He is ascended heaven to reap the gains.
 Oh for a double portion of thy spirit!
 No richer treasure would we all inherit.

Mastus apposuit.

T. S.*

1668.

THIS year it pleased God to visit New-England with the manifestation of his displeasure, by the death of three eminent instruments; the first whereof was that worthy servant of Christ, Mr. Samuel Shepard, pastor of the church of Christ in Rowley, in New-England, who deceased in the spring of this year, in the midst of his days, and in the beginning of his work in the ministry.† The second, that worthy man of God, Mr. Henry Flint, teacher of the church of Christ at Braintree, in New-England, who ended his mortal life the 27th of April, in this year; a man of known piety, gravity and integrity, and well accomplished with

* These lines were written by the Rev. Thomas Shepard. [*Magnal.* III. 49.]

It has been said that Mr. Wilson gave one thousand pounds to Massachusetts, for the purchase of artillery, and the Editor having repeated the remark, in a note appended to a Discourse delivered before the Historical Society, would embrace this opportunity to correct the mistake. This liberal bequest was from the Rev. Dr. Wilson, a brother of Mr. Wilson of Boston. "The will," says Dr. Mather, "because it bequeathed a thousand pounds to New-England, gave satisfaction unto our Mr. Wilson, though it was otherwise injurious to himself."

[*Magnal.* III, 45. *Wond. Work.* Prov. 192.]

† Mr. Shepard was second son of Rev. Mr. Shepard of Cambridge. He graduated at Harvard College, in 1658, and was ordained, at Rowley, about six years before his death.

[*Eliot's Biog. Dict.* 426.]

other qualifications fit for the work of the ministry.* The third and last, but not the least, that supereminent minister of the gospel, (rightly so called,) Mr. Jonathan Mitchell, pastor of the church at Cambridge, in New-England, who laid down his earthly tabernacle on the ninth of July, in this year. Of whose rare endowments, and the great loss the whole land sustained by his death, take this following brief account.

Mr. Jonathan Mitchell was born at Halifax, in Yorkshire, in England, of pious and wealthy parents, who coming over to New-England, brought him over young; his education in learning was perfected at Harvard College, in Cambridge, where he attained to such a degree in knowledge, that he was soon called to be a fellow of the college, and, within a few years after, his lustre did so shine, that the church at Hartford, upon Connecticut river, made application to him in order to supply the place of that eminent servant of Christ, Mr. Thomas Hooker, a little before deceased; but the church at Cambridge, (by the advice of their worthy pastor, Mr. Thomas Shepard, then living,) not willing to part with so great a treasure, became competitor with Hartford, and gave him a call to them. This loving strife, between the two churches of Hartford and Cambridge, about him, was, in a short time, decided by the awful hand of God, in the death of that eminent and glorious star, Mr. Thomas Shepard, pastor at Cambridge; which place being wholly destitute, and Hartford being supplied with a teacher, namely, that

* Mr. Flynt was chosen colleague with Mr. Thomson, at the first organization of a church at Braintree, in 1639. He was father of the Rev. Josiah Flynt, ordained at Dorchester, in 1681, and grand-father of Henry Flynt, who was nearly fifty years a Tutor at Harvard College. [*Allen's Amer. Biog. Hist. Coll.* IX, 175.]

worthy of the Lord, Mr. Samuël Stone, the balance was cast for Cambridge, and in the year 1650, he was called and ordained their pastor. It was an eminent favour of God to that church, to have this great breach thus made up, with a man so much of the spirit and principles of their former pastor, and so excellently qualified with respect to the College: For, reason and prudence requireth, that the minister of that place be more than ordinarily endowed with learning, gravity, wisdom, orthodoxness, ability, sweet and excellent gifts in preaching, that so the scholars which are devoted and set apart, in order to be preachers of the gospel, might be seasoned with the spirit of such an Elijah; in which regard, this holy man of God was eminently furnished, and his labours wonderfully blessed; for very many of the scholars, bred up in his time, (as is observed,) do savour of his spirit, for grace and manner of preaching, which was most attractive. He lived pastor of the church about eighteen years, and was most intense and faithful in declaring much of the counsel of God. He went through a great part of the body of divinity; made a very excellent exposition of the book of Genesis, and part of Exodus; and delivered many fruitful and profitable sermons on the four first chapters of John; and, in his monthly lectures, which were abundantly frequented, he preached of man's misery by sin, and recovery by Christ Jesus; and died in the third part of it, viz. concerning man's obedience in Christ; besides many other excellent truths, by him taught, upon divers occasions. In all his labours, God was wonderfully present with him. He was a person that held very near communion with

God; eminent in wisdom, piety, humility, love, self-denial, and of a compassionate and tender heart; surpassing in public-spiritedness; a mighty man in prayer, and eminent at standing in the gap; he was zealous for order, and faithful in asserting the truth, against all oppugners of it. In a word, he was a man whom God had richly furnished, and eminently fitted for his work; lived desired, and died lamented, by all good Christians that knew him. It pleased God upon the ninth of July, 1668, in a hot and burning season, (but much more hot in the heat of God's anger to New-England,) to take him to rest and glory, about the 43d year of his age. His race was but short, but the work he did was very much. The elegies following may give the reader a further account of what esteem he was.*

Upon the death of that truly godly, reverend and faithful servant of Christ, Mr. Jonathan Mitchell, pastor of the Church at Cambridge, who deceased July 9, 1668.

WHAT shall we say? Of sad effects what fear?
 Four splendent stars extinguish'd in one year!
 Two old, one young, and this of middle age;
 A brightest light, most eyes who did engage,
 The Lord in's temple is, earth silence keep;
 Dispute not over-bold this judgment deep.
 A mourning great, each eye distilling streams:
 Sad sighs and sobs in most men's mouths their themes.
 And who can blame it? for this we well may,
 If love, if fear, if temple-shakes bear sway.
 The wife hath lost her head, four hopeful stems
 A father; Cambridge too their crowning gems;

* There is an elaborate life of this eminent man in the *Magnalia*, [IV, 166—185,] which is faithfully abridged in the *History of Cambridge*. [*Hist. Coll.* VIII. 47—51.]

Neighbours, a useful light; elders, a brother,
 Whose head and mouth made him, to most, a father.
 Sad Cambridge, when thou lost thy Thomas dear,
 God pitied thee, and gave a right compeer;
 This Jonathan thy Mitchell, one in whom
 Was *Much of EL*, a Michael judged by some.
 Right strong in school, in desk of brightest shine;
 Artist, good linguist, high orthodox divine;
 Of judgment deep; of memory how large!
 Invention quick, grave, pleasant; who can charge
 Thee, in thy theory or practick, with dark fail?
 Humble, sincere, whose love cords did avail.
 Much good by him, you Cambridge have received,
 He gone, by you his relicts see reliev'd.
 A royal quære, 'twas when Jonathan dead,
 And royal act, Jonathan's stems to feed.

E. B.*

To the memory of that learned and reverend Mr. Jonathan Mitchell, late minister of Cambridge, in New-England, interred July 10, 1668.

Quicquid agimus, quicquid fatimur venit ex alto.

THE countries tears, be ye my spring; my hill,
 A general grave; let groans inspire my quill,
 *With an heart rending sense, drawn from the cries,
 *Of orphan churches, and the destinies
 *Of a bereaved house: Let children weep,
 *They scarce know why; and let the mothers steep
 *Her lifeless hopes in brine; The private friend
 *O'erwhelm'd with grief, falter, his comforts end,
 By a warm sympathy let fev'rish heat
 Roam through my verse unseen; and a cold sweat
 Limning despair, attend me; sighs diffuse
 Convulsions through my language, such as use
 To type a gasping fancy; lastly shroud
 Religions splendour in a mourning cloud,

*The Rev. Edward Bulkley of Concord, is supposed to be intended by these initials.

Replete with vengeance for succeeding times,
 Fertile in woes, more fertile in their crimes.
 These are my muse, and these inspire the sails
 Of fancy with their sighs instead of gales.
 Reader, read rev'rend Mitchell's life, and then
 Confess the world a Gordian knot again.
 Read his tear-dew'd grave, and then decree
 Our present woe and future misery
 Stars falling speak a storm: When Samuel dies,
 Steel may expect Philistia's cruelties.
 So when Jehovah's brighter glory fled
 The temple, Israel was captive led.
 Geneva's triple light made one divine;
 But here that vast triumvirate combine
 By a blest Metempsychosis, to take
 One person for their larger Zodiac.
 In sacred censures, Farrel's dreadful scroll
 Of words, broke from the pulpit to the soul.
 *(Indulgent parents when they spare, they spoil,
 *Old wounds need vinegar as well as oil.
 *Distasteful cates with miseries do suit;
 *The Paschal lamb was eat with bitter fruit;)
 In balmy comforts, Virets genius came
 From the wrinkled alps to woo the western dame;
 And courting Cambridge, quickly took from thence,
 Her last degrees of rhetorick and sense.
 Calvin's Laconics through his doctrine's spread,
 And children's-children with their manna fed.
 His exposition Genesis begun,
 And fatal Exodus eclips'd his sun.
 Some say that souls of sad presages give;
 Death-breathing sermons taught us last to live.
 *One sows, another reaps, may truly be,
 *Our grave instruction and his elegy.
 His system of religion half unheard,
 Full double in his preaching life appear'd.
 *Happy that place where rulers deeds appear,
 *I' th' front of battle, and their words i' the rear.
 He's gone, to whom his country owes a love,
 Worthy the prudent serpent and the dove.

Religions Panoply, the sinners terrour,
 Death summon'd hence sure by writ of errour,
 The Quaker trembling at his thunder, fled,
 And with Caligula resum'd his bed.
 He by the motions of a nobler spirit,
 Clear'd men, and made their notions swine inherit,
 The Munster goblin by his holy flood,
 Exorcis'd, like a thin Phantasma stood.
 Brown's babel shatter'd by his lightning fell;
 And with confused horror pack'd to hell.
 The Scripture with a commentary bound,
 (Like a lost calice) in his heart was found.
 When he was sick, the air a fever took,
 And thirsty Phœbus quast the silver brook.
 When dead the spheres in thunder clouds and rain,
 Groan'd his elegium, mourn'd and wept our pain,
 Let not the brazen Schismatick aspire;
 Lot's leaving Sodom, left them to the fire.
 'Tis true, the bee's now dead, but yet his sting,
 Death's to their dronish doctrines yet may bring.

EPITAPHIUM.

HERE lies within this comprehensive span,
 The churches, courts, and countries Jonathan,
 He that speaks Mitchell, gives the schools the lie;
 Friendship in him gain'd an ubiquity.

F. D.*

Vivet post funera virtus.

*An epitaph upon the deplored death of that supereminent minister
 of the gospel, Mr. Jonathan Mitchell.*

HERE lies the darling of his time,
 Mitchell expired in his prime;

* This epitaph and the preceding elegiac lines, were written by Mr. F. Drake, a young gentleman from England, who was a lodger in Mr. Mitchell's family; and was deeply impressed with some observations, addressed to him as he stood by the deceased, just before his death. [*Magnal.* IV, 185.] Dr. Mather, in copying the elegy, omits the lines which we have marked with an asterisk. Mr. Drake's return to England, taking with him one of the Indian converts who had been educated at Cambridge, is mentioned by Mr. Gookin. [*Hist. Coll.* I, 173.]

Who four years short of forty-seven,
Was found full ripe and pluck'd for heaven.
Was full of prudent zeal and love,
Faith, patience, wisdom from above;
New-England's stay, next age's story;
The churches gem; the college glory.
Angel's may speak him; ah! not I,
(Whose worth's above Hyperbole)
But for our loss, wer't in my power,
I'd weep an everlasting shower.

J. S.*

A fourth minister that died this year was Mr. John Eliot, jun. born at Roxbury in New-England, eldest son of the Rev. Mr. John Eliot, teacher of the church there. He was educated at Cambridge, in the latin school, and in the College, until he became master of arts; and a few years after was called to be pastor of a church within the bounds of Cambridge, upon the south side of Charles river. He was a person excellently endowed, and accomplished with gifts of nature, learning, and grace; of comely proportion, ruddy complexion, cheerful countenance; of quick apprehension, solid judgment, excellent prudence; learned both in tongues and arts for one of his time, and studiously intense in acquiring more knowledge. His abilities and acceptance in the ministry did excel; his piety, faith, love, humility, self-denial, and zeal, did eminently shine upon all occasions. He had (under the conduct of his father,) by his diligence, industry, and zeal (for the good of souls,) attained to such skill in the Indian language, that he preached to the Indians sundry

* Guided by these initials only, we are inclined to attribute the lines to which they are annexed, to the Rev. John Sherman, at that time, minister of Watertown; or they may have been written by Joshua Scottow, author of *Old Men's Tears*, and a *Narrative of the planting of Massachusetts*.

years; travelling many miles in a day once a fortnight, to dispense the gospel to them. The Indians have often said, that his preaching to them was precious and desirable; and consequently their loss, and the obstruction in that work, much to be lamented. In a word, there was so much of God in him, that all the wise and godly who knew him, loved and honoured him in the Lord, and bewailed his death; which fell upon the 13th day of October, 1668, and of his age about 35 years.*

I SHALL close up this small history with a word of advice to the rising generation, that as now their godly predecessors have had large experience of the goodness and faithfulness of God, for the space of near forty-six years, (some of them) and have passed under various dispensations, sometimes under great afflictions, otherwhile the sun shining upon their tabernacles in ways of peace and prosperity; and yet notwithstanding, through the grace of Christ, the most of them have held their integrity in his ways; that so, such as succeed them would follow their examples so far as they have followed Christ; that it might not be said of them, as it is to be feared it may be, by what yet appears amongst many of them, that indeed God did once plant a noble vine in New-England, but it is degenerated into the plant of a strange vine, Jer. ii, 21. It were well that it might be said that the rising generation did serve the Lord all the days of such as in this our Israel are as Joshua's amongst us, Josh. xxiv, 31. And the elders that over-lived him, which have

* See p. 248, Note.

known all the works of the Lord, which he hath done for their fathers. But if yet, notwithstanding, afterwards, such shall forget, and not regard those, his great works, here presented before them, besides many more, that I hope by some others may come to their view; be they assured, he will destroy them, and not build them up, Psalm xxviii, 5. Oh, therefore, let the truly godly in this land, be incited by the example of Moses, as the mouth of the church, to pray earnestly and incessantly unto the Lord, that his work may yet appear to his servants, and his glory unto their children, Psa. xc, 16; Isa. xlv, 3, 4. And that he would pour out his spirit upon his church and people in New-England, and his blessing upon their offspring, that they may spring up as among the grass, and as the willows by the water courses; that so great occasion there may be thereby of taking notice thereof in succeeding generations, to the praise and glory of God. So be it.

SUPPLEMENT
TO
NEW-ENGLAND'S MEMORIAL

BY ANOTHER HAND.*

1669.

THIS year, 1669, was rendered sorrowful and remarkable, by the death of Capt. Thomas Southworth, who full of faith and comfort, expired at Plimouth, Decem-

* The author of this Supplement, was the Hon. Josiah Cotton, of Plymouth, son of the Rev. John Cotton, sometime minister of that town. His mother, Joanna, was a daughter of Dr. Brian Rossiter, of Guilford, in Connecticut. He graduated, at Harvard College, in 1698, and died in 1756, aged 77. This respectable man held, at different times, several civil offices in the county, as clerk of the Inferiour Court of Common Pleas; Justice of the same Court; Register of Probate, and Register of Deeds. He was also, occasionally employed as a *Prescher* to the Indians, in Plymouth and the vicinity, having acquired a competent acquaintance with their language. He left a diary, which he began in his youth, soon after he left college, and continued nearly to the time of his decease. It is in the possession of his Grandson, Rossiter Cotton, Esq. the present Register of Deeds in the county of Plymouth. It contains many historical facts, which it would be desirable to have extracted and preserved in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

The late John Cotton, Esq. of Plymouth, succeeded his father, the Hon. Josiah Cotton, in the office of Register of Deeds, which he held until his death. He died Nov. 4, 1789, in the 78th year of his age. In early life he was minister of *Halifax*, an employment which he was obliged to relinquish, from an indisposition, which greatly affected his voice. He was an able theologian, and his pulpit performances were much esteemed by judicious auditors. He was the author of the valuable *Account of Plymouth Church*, appended to the Sermon, preached at the Ordination of the Rev. Chandler Robbins, in 1760. This account was republished, in the fourth volume of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. This Gentleman had a very familiar acquaintance with the ancient records of the Colony of Plymouth. He once informed the Editor, that he had perused them carefully, with a view of preparing an appendix, for an improved Edition of the *New-England's Memorial*; and that he had made copious minutes for that purpose. Upon examination of his papers, since his decease, they have, unfortunately, not been found.

ber the 8th, being about fifty-three years old, after he had served God in his generation, faithfully, both in a publick, and private station.*

Thomas Prince, Esq. was again chosen Governour of this colony for this year, and so annually to the year 1672; and, March 29, 1673, finished his course, in the 73d year of his life; having been a worthy, pious gentleman, and very capable of the office of Governour, which he sustained about eighteen years, being therein a terrour to evil doers, and an encourager of those that did well; and was honourably interred at Plimouth, April 8, 1673.†

To whom succeeded as Governour, at the next election, June 3, 1673, the Hon. Josias Winslow, Esq. son of the same Governour Winslow, in whose time, viz. June 24, 1675, broke out the Indian war by Philip, chief Sachem of Pockanockett, alias Mount Hope, wherein God, for our sins, was pleased to render the Indians a great scourge to his people in this, and the other colonies of New-England, both in their persons and estates. The war being attended with the usual barbarity of the heathen, burning of houses, murdering of men, women, and children; desolation of towns and settlements; tedious and terrible captivities, and continual fears and dangers; the Indians spreading themselves far and near, and effecting with their hands the revenge and malice of their hearts, until that God Almighty regarding our prayers, and succeeding our endeavours, put a stop unto the outrages of the heathen, in the year 1676, when Philip, the perfidious aggressor in the war, was slain on his own plantation

* See Appendix Y.

† See Appendix Z.

near Mount Hope, (now Bristol,) by one of his own countrymen; and others who had a great hand in our distresses, brought to condign punishment, or forced to fly their own country.

Thus God preserved the vine, which his own right hand had planted, and has enlarged our borders, by giving to us the heritage of the heathen, which they justly forfeited by their unreasonable rebellion.

Oh! that the people of this, and the other colonies, would praise the Lord for his goodness, and wonderful works unto them, that so he may not be provoked to kindle such a fire amongst them.

But a more particular account of this war has been faithfully recorded by the Rev. Mr. Hubbard, and Dr. Increase Mather, and others, to which I refer the reader.*

This Governour Winslow was annually chosen to that office to the year 1680; and in December 1680, after many escapes in perilous fights and dangerous voyages, death arrested him, at his seat in Marshfield, within the jurisdiction of New-Plymouth, in the fifty-second year of his age. He was a worthy and well accomplished gentleman, deservedly beloved by the people, being a true friend to their just liberties, generous, facetious, affable and sincere, qualities incident to the family.†

In 1681, June 7th, Thomas Hinckley, Esq. was chosen Governour and by annual election continued to 1686.

In the year 1685, the government being much enlarged through the divine benediction upon their

* See Appendix A. A.

† See Appendix B. B.

labour and industry; the colony was divided into three counties, viz. The county of Plymouth, of which the shire town is Plymouth.

The county of Barnstable, the shire town Barnstable.

The county of Bristol, Bristol being the shire town.

In the county of Plimouth, are now ten towns, viz. Plymouth, Duxbury, Marshfield, Scituate, Bridgewater, Abington, Pembroke, Plimpton, Middleborough and Rochester.

In the county of Barnstable, are eight towns, viz. Sandwich, Barnstable, Yarmouth, Harwich, Eastham, Truro, Falmouth and Chatham.

In the county of Bristol, are twelve towns, viz. Bristol, Rehoboth, Swanzey, Taunton, Dighton, Norton, Barrington, Freetown, Tiverton, Dartmouth, Little Compton and Attleborough.

In December 1686, Sir Edmund Andross arrived at Boston, with a large commission from his Majesty, King James the second, comprehending the governments of the Massachusetts, Plymouth, Rhode Island, Connecticut, &c. who continued our Governour till the happy and glorious REVOLUTION under King William and Queen Mary of blessed memory.

In April, 1689, Sir Edmund Andross being dismissed from his government, each colony reassumed their former powers, and Mr. Hinckley was annually elected Governour to the year 1691.

Our last election of Governour, Deputy Governour, and assistants, being June 2, 1691, the said Mr. Hinckley was chosen Governour, and William Bradford, Esq. Deputy Governour. John Freeman, Daniel Smith, Barnabas Lothrop, John Thatcher, John Wal-

APPENDIX.

A. p. 42.

[The extracts from Mourt's Journal and from Winslow's *Good News from New-England*, inserted in this Appendix, are taken from the eighth volume of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.]

WHEN our shallop was fit, indeed, before she was fully fitted, for there was two days work after bestowed on her, there was appointed some four and twenty men of our own, and armed, then to go and make a more full discovery of the rivers before mentioned. Master Jones was desirous to go with us, and took such of his sailors as he thought useful for us; so as we were in all about four and thirty men. We made Master Jones our leader; for we thought it best herein to gratify his kindness and forwardness. When we were set forth, it proved rough weather and cross winds; so as we were constrained, some in the shallop, and others in the long boat, to row to the nearest shore the wind would suffer them to go unto, and then to wade out above their knees. The wind was so strong as the shallop could not keep the water, but was forced to harbour* there that night; but we marched six or seven miles further, and appointed the shallop to come to us as soon as they could.

It blowed and did snow all that day and night, and froze withal. Some of our people that are dead, took the original of their death here. The next day, about eleven o'clock, our shallop

* In East harbour. The men who marched *several* miles, and what they supposed to be *six* or *seven* miles farther, were landed on the point which forms this harbour.

came to us, and we shipped ourselves; and the wind being good. we sailed to the river we formerly discovered, which we named Cold Harbour; to which, when we came, we found it not navigable for ships; yet we thought it might be a good harbour for boats, for it flows there twelve foot* at high water. We landed our men between the two creeks,† and marched four or five miles‡ by the greater of them, and the shallop followed us. At length night grew on, and our men were tired with marching up and down the steep hills and deep vallies,§ which lay half a foot thick with snow. Master Jones, wearied with marching, was desirous that we should take up our lodging, though some of us would have marched further. So we made there our rendezvous for that night under a few pine trees; and as it fell out we got three geese and six ducks for our supper, which we ate with soldier's stomachs, for we had eaten little all that day.

We marched to the place where we had the corn formerly, which place we called Corn-hill; and digged and found the rest, of which we were very glad. We also digged in a place a little further off, and found a bottle of oil. We went to another place, which we had seen before, and digged and found more corn, viz. two or three baskets full of Indian wheat, and a bag of beans, with a good many of fair wheat|| ears. Whilst some of us were digging up this, some others found another heap of corn, which they digged up also; so as we had in all about ten bushels, which will serve us sufficiently for seed. And sure it was God's good providence that we found this corn, for else we know not how we should have done; for we knew not how we should find or meet with any of the Indians, except it be to do us a mischief. Also we had never in all likelihood seen a grain of it, if we had

* The mouth of Pamet river, or Cold Harbour, is twelve feet deep at high water. Thence the water gradually decreases to five feet, which is the depth at the lower bridge. This is to be understood of the lowest tides, during the summer.

† The men were landed at Old Tom's hill.

‡ From Old Tom's hill to the head of Pamet river, the distance is about three miles and a half, as the hills run, or three miles in a straight line. The tradition is, that Pamet river was formerly deeper than it is at present, and therefore the shallop might easily follow them

§ This is an exact description of the land on Pamet river.

|| Indian corn is still meant.

not made our first journey; for the ground was now covered with snow, and so hard frozen, that we were fain with our cutlasses and short swords to hew and carve the ground a foot deep, and then wrest it up with levers, for we had forgot to bring our tools. Whilst we were in this employment, foul weather being towards, Mr. Jones was earnest to go aboard; but sundry of us desired to make further discovery, and find out the Indian's habitations. So we sent home with him our weakest people, and some that were sick, and all the corn; and eighteen of us stayed still and lodged there that night, and desired that the shallop might return to us next day, and bring us some mattocks and spades with them.

When we had marched five or six miles in the woods, and could find no signs of any people, we returned again another way; and as we came into the plain ground, we found a place like a grave, but it was much bigger and longer than any we had yet seen. It was also covered with boards; so as we mused what it should be, and resolved to dig it up: where we found first a mat, and under that a fair bow, and there another mat, and under that a board about three quarters long, finely carved and painted, with three tines or broches on the top, like a crown. Also between the mats we found bowls, trays, dishes, and such like triankets. At length we came to a fair new mat, and under that two bundles, the one bigger, the other less. We opened the greater, and found in it a great quantity of fine and perfect red powder, and in it the bones and skull of a man. The skull had fine yellow hair still on it, and some of the flesh unconsumed. There was bound up with a knife, a packneedle, and two or three old iron things. It was bound up in a sailor's canvas sashock and a pair of cloth breeches. The red powder was a kind of embalment, and yielded a strong, but no offensive smell. It was as fine as any flour. We opened the less bundle likewise, and found of the same powder in it, and the bones and head of a little child. About the legs and other parts of it was bound strings and bracelets of fine white beads.* There was also by it a little bow, about three quarters long, and some other odd knacks. We brought sundry of the prettiest things away with

* Wampom, made of the periwinkle.

us, and covered the corpse up again. After this, we dugged in sundry like places, but found no more corn, nor any thing else but graves.

"Whilst we were thus ranging and searching, two of the sailors, which were newly come on the shore, by chance espied two houses, which had been lately dwelt in, but the people were gone. They, having their pieces, and hearing nobody, entered the houses and took out something, and durst not stay, but came again and told us: so some seven or eight of us went with them, and found how we had gone within a flight shot of them before. The houses were made with long young sapling trees bended, and both ends stuck into the ground. They were made round like unto an arbor, and covered down to the ground with thick and well wrought mats; and the door was not over a yard high, made of a mat to open.* The chimney was a wide open hole in the top; for which they had a mat to cover it close when they pleased. One might stand and go upright in them. In the midst of them were four little trunches knocked into the ground, and small sticks laid over, on which they hung their pots, and what they had to seeth. Round about the fire they lay on mats, which are their beds. The houses were double matted; for as they were matted without, so were they within with newer and fairer mats. In the houses we found wooden bowls, trays, and dishes, earthen pots, hand-baskets made of crab-shells wrought together; also an English pail or bucket; it wanted a bail, but it had two iron ears. There was also baskets of sundry sorts, bigger, and some lesser, finer, and some coarser. Some were curiously wrought with black and white in pretty works, and sundry other of their household stuff. We found also two or three deer's heads, one whereof had been newly killed, for it was still fresh. There was also a company of deer's feet, stuck up in the houses, harts' horns, and eagles' claws, and sundry such like things there was; also two or three baskets full of parched acorns, pieces of fish, and a piece of a broiled herring. We found also a little silk grass, and a little tobacco seed, with some other seeds which we knew not. Without was sundry bundles of flags, and sedge, bull-rushes, and other stuff to make mats. There

* See Gookin's Coll. chap. iii, § 4. and Williams' Key, chap. vi.

was thrust into a hollow tree two or three pieces of venison; but we thought it fitter for the dogs than for us. Some of the best things we took away with us, and left the houses standing still as they were.
[Mourt's Journal.]

B. p. 52.

"The fourth and last comet," says Dr. Increase Mather, "appearing this year, [1618,] was that which all the earth looked upon with astonishment. It was first taken notice of November 24th, and continued to January 24th, for the space of 60 days. There are some now living [1683] who remember this blazing star. Quickly after these blazing stars, God sent the plague amongst the Indians here in New-England." [*Discourse concerning Comets*, 108—110.] It was the object of Dr. Mather's Discourse to shew that "when blazing stars have been seen, great mutations and miseries have come upon mortals." *Vincentius Guinisi*, he observes, made an oration, *de felicitate cometarum*, declaring that the comet of 1618 was a happy one; "but I believe," says Dr. Mather, "there is not one good man in the world of his mind as to that particular comet." In estimating the synchronous events, why, it may be asked, should the settlement of the New-England wilderness, by a Christian people, be overlooked? Such a contemplation might have prompted the venerable author of the discourse, to have viewed the comet of 1618, as the harbinger of good, and to have been less tenacious of the scheme which he had embraced on this subject.

C. p. 66.

Thursday, the twenty-secondth of March was a fair warm day. About noon we met again about our publick business; but we had scarce been an hour together, but Samoset came again, and Squanto, the only native of Patuxet, where we now inhabit, who was one of the twenty captives that by Hunt were carried away, and had been, in England, and dwelt in Cornhill with Master John Slanie, a merchant, and could speak a little English, with three others: and they brought with them some few skins to truck, and some red herrings, newly taken and dried, but not

salted; and signified unto us, that their great sagamore, Massasoit, was hard by, with Quadequina, his brother, and all their men. They could not well express in English what they would; but after an hour the king came to the top of an hill* over against us, and had in his train sixty men, that we could well behold them, and they us. We were not willing to send our Governour to them, and they unwilling to come to us: so Squanto went again unto him, who brought word that we should send one to parley with him, which we did, which was Edward Winslow. to know his mind, and to signify the mind and will of our Governour, which was to have trading and peace with him. We sent to the king a pair of knives, and a copper chain, with a jewel in it. To Quadequina we sent likewise a knife, and a jewel to hang in his ear, and withal a pot of strong water, a good quantity of biscuit, and some butter, which were all willingly accepted.

Our messenger made a speech unto him, That king James saluted him with words of love and peace, and did accept of him as his friend and ally; and that our Governour desired to see him and to truck with him, and to confirm a peace with him as his next neighbour. He liked well of the speech, and heard it attentively, though the interpreters did not well express it. After he had eaten and drunk himself, and given the rest to his company, he looked upon our messenger's sword and armour which he had on, with intimation of his desire to buy it; but on the other side, our messenger showed his unwillingness to part with it. In the end he left him in the custody of Quadequina, his brother, and came over the brook, and some twenty men following him, leaving all their bows and arrows behind them. We kept six or seven as hostages for our messenger. Captain Standish and Mr. Williamson met the king at the brook, with half a dozen musketeers. They saluted him, and he them: so one going over, the one on the one side, and the other on the other, conducted him to an house then in building, where we placed a green rug and three or four cushions. Then instantly came our Governour with a drum and trumpet after him, and

* Watson's hill on the south side of Town brook. [This eminence was anciently called Strawberry hill: the Indian name was Cantauh cantecat.]

Ancient Vestiges. M. S. Hist. Coll. III, 2 Series.

some few musketeers. After salutations, our Governour kissing his hand, the king kissed him; and so they sat down. The Governour called for some strong water and drunk to him; and he drunk a great draught, that made him sweat all the while after. He called for a little fresh meat, which the king did eat willingly, and did give his followers. Then they treated of peace, which was: [Here is inserted in the Journal the treaty, mentioned in the Memorial, p. 54.]

All which the king seemed to like well; and it was applauded of his followers. All the while he sat by the Governour, he trembled for fear. In his person he is a very lusty man, in his best years, an able body, grave of countenance, and spare of speech; in his attire little or nothing differing from the rest of his followers, only in a great chain of white bone beads about his neck; and at it, behind his neck, hangs a little bag of tobacco, which he drank and gave us to drink. His face was painted with a sad red like murrey; and oiled both head and face, that he looked greasily. All his followers likewise were, in their faces, in part or in whole, painted, some black, some red, some yellow, and some white; some with crosses and other antick works; some had skins on them, and some naked; all strong, tall men in appearance. The king had in his bosom, hanging in a string, a great long knife. He marvelled much at our trumpet; and some of his men would sound it as well as they could. Samoset and Squanto stayed all night with us; and the king and all his men lay all night in the wood, not above half an English mile from us, and all their wives and women with them. They said, that within eight or nine days they would come and set corn on the other side of the brook, and dwell there all summer, which is hard by us.

That night we kept good watch; but there was no appearance of danger. The next morning divers of their people came over to us, hoping to get some victuals, as we imagined. Some of them told us the king would have some of us come see him. Captain Standish and Isaac Alderton* went venturously, who were welcomed of him after their manner. He gave them three

* Generally spelled Allerton. Point Alderton, at the entrance of Boston harbour, takes its name from him. *Hutch. Vol. II. p. 461.*

or four ground nuts and some tobacco. We cannot yet conceive but that he is willing to have peace with us; for they have seen our people sometimes alone, two or three in the woods at work and fowling, when as they offered them no harm, as they might easily have done; and especially because he hath a potent adversary, the Narrohigansets,* that are at war with him, against whom he thinks we may be some strength to him, for our pieces are terrible unto them. This morning they stayed till ten or eleven of the clock; and our Governour bid them send the king's kettle, and filled it with peas, which pleased them well; and so they went their way.

Friday was a very fair day. Samoset and Squanto still remained with us. Squanto went at noon to fish for eels. At night he came home with as many as he could lift in one hand; which our people were glad of. They were fat and sweet. He trod them out with his feet, and so caught them with his hands, without any other instrument.

This day we proceeded on with our common business, from which we had been so often hindered by the savages' coming; and concluded both of military orders, and of some laws and orders as we thought behooveful for our present estate and condition; and likewise chose our Governour for this year, which was Master John Carver, a man well approved amongst us.

[Mourt's Journal.]

D. p. 70.

We set forward the tenth† of June, about nine o'clock in the morning, our guide resolving that night to rest at Namaschet,‡ a town under Massasoit, and conceived by us to be very near, because the inhabitants flocked so thick upon every slight occasion amongst us; but we found it to be some fifteen miles. On the way we found some ten or twelve men, women, and children,

* Written at present Narraganset.

† "June 10th being Lord's day, it is very unlikely that they set out then, and is also inconsistent with the rest of the Journal: whereas July 2d is Monday, when Governour Bradford says, We sent Mr. Edward Winslow, &c."

Prince Ann. p. 105.

‡ Or Namasket: that part of Middleborough, which the English first began to settle.

Coll. Hist. Soc. Vol. III. p. 148.

which had pestered us till we were weary of them, perceiving that, as the manner of them all is, where victual is easiest to be got, there they live, especially in the summer: by reason whereof, our bay affording many lobsters, they resort every spring tide thither; and now returned with us to Namaschet. Thither we came about three o'clock afternoon, the inhabitants entertaining us with joy, in the best manner they could; giving us a kind of bread, called by them *maizium*, and the spawn of shads which they then got in abundance, in so much as they gave us spoons to eat them: with these they boiled musty acorns;* but of the shads we eat heartily. After this they desired one of our men to shoot at a crow, complaining what damage they sustained in their corn by them, who shooting some fourscore off and killing, they much admired it, as other shots on other occasions. After this Tisquantum told us we should hardly in one day reach Pakanokick, moving us to go some eight miles further, where we should find more store and better victuals than there.

Being willing to hasten our journey, we went and came thither at sun setting; where we found many of the Namascheucks (they so calling the men of Namaschet) fishing upon a wear,† which they had made on a river which belonged to them, where they caught abundance of bass. These welcomed us also, gave us of their fish, and we them of our victuals, not doubting but we should have enough wherever we came. There we lodged in the open fields; for houses they had none, though they spent the most of the summer there. The head of this river is reported to be not far from the place of our abode. Upon it are and have been many towns, it being a good length. The ground is very good on both sides, it being for the most part cleared. Thousands of men have lived there, which died in a great plague not long since: and pity it was and is to see so many goodly fields, and so well seated, without men to dress and manure the same. Upon this river dwelleth Massasoyt.

The next morning we break our fast, took our leave, and departed, being then accompanied with some six savages. Hav-

* See Gookin's Coll. chap. iii. § 5. and Williams' Key, chap. xvi.

† At Titicut, on Taunton river, in the north-west part of Middleborough, is a noted place, which was formerly called the Old Indian Wear. Though other wears have been erected on Taunton river, yet this is probably the place intended.

ing gone about six miles by the river side, at a known shoal place,* it being low water, they spake to us to put off our breeches, for we must wade thorough. Here let me not forget the valour and courage of some of the savages, on the opposite side of the river; for there were remaining alive only two men, both aged, especially the one, being above threescore. These two espying a company of men entering the river, ran very swiftly, and low in the grass, to meet us at the bank, where with shrill voices and great courage, standing charged upon us with their bows, they demanded what we were, supposing us to be enemies, and thinking to take advantage on us in the water: but seeing we were friends, they welcomed us with such food as they had, and we bestowed a small bracelet of beads on them. Thus far we are sure the tide ebbs and flows.

Having here again refreshed ourselves, we proceeded in our journey, the weather being very hot for travel; yet the country so well watered, that a man could scarce be dry, but he should have a spring at hand to cool his thirst, besides small rivers in abundance. But the savages will not willingly drink but at a spring head. When we came to a small brook where no bridge was, two of them desired to carry us through of their own accords; also fearing we were or would be weary, offered to carry our pieces; also, if we would lay off any of our clothes, we should have them carried: and as the one of them had found more special kindness from one of the messengers, and the other savage from the other, so they showed their thankfulness accordingly, in affording us help and furtherance in the journey.

As we passed along, we observed that there were few places by the river, but had been inhabited; by reason whereof much ground was clear, save of weeds, which grew higher than our heads. There is much good timber, both oak, walnut tree, fir, beech, and exceeding great chesnut trees.

After we came to a town of Massasoyt's, where we ate oysters and other fish. From thence we went to Pokanokick,† but

* About six miles below Old Indian Wear is a noted wading place. The opposite shore of Taunton river is in Raynham.

† Sometimes called Sowams. See Winslow, 50; and Belknap's Biog. Vol. II. p. 221.

Massasoyt was not at home. There we stayed, he being sent for. When news was brought of his coming, our guide, Tisquantum, requested that at our meeting we would discharge our pieces: but one of us going about to charge his piece, the women and children, through fear to see him take up his piece, ran away, and could not be pacified till he laid it down again; who afterward were better informed by our interpreter. Massasoyt being come, we discharged our pieces and saluted him; who, after their manner, kindly welcomed us, and took us into his house, and set us down by him, where, having delivered our message and presents, and having put the coat on his back, and the chain about his neck; he was not a little proud to behold himself, and his men also to see their king so bravely attired. For answer to our message, he told us we were welcome; and would gladly continue that peace and friendship, which was between him and us; and for his men they should no more pester us, as they had done; also that he would send to Paomet, and would help us with corn for seed, according to our request.

This being done, his men gathered near unto him, to whom he turned himself, and made a speech; they sometime interposing, and, as it were, confirming and applauding him in that he said. The meaning whereof was, as far as we could learn, thus: Was not he, Massasoyt, commander of the country about them? Was not such a town his, and the people of it? And should they not bring their skins unto us? After this manner he named at least thirty places; and their answer was as aforesaid to every one: so that as it was delightful, it was tedious unto us. This being ended; he lighted tobacco for us, and fell to discoursing of England and of the king's majesty, marvelling that he should live without a wife. Also he talked of the Frenchmen, bidding us not to suffer them to come to Narrohiganset, for it was king James his country, and he also was king James his man. Late it grew, but victuals he offered none; for indeed he had not any, being he came so newly home. So we desired to go to rest. He laid us on the bed with himself, and his wife, they at the one end, and we at the other, it being only planks laid a foot from the ground, and a thin mat upon them. Two more of his chief men, for want of room, pressed by and upon us; so that we were worse weary of our lodging than of our journey.

The next day, being Thursday, many of their *sachems*, or petty governours, came to see us, and many of their men also. There they went to their manner of games for skins and knives. There we challenged them to shoot with them for skins; but they durst not: only they desired to see one of us shoot at a mark; who shooting with hail-shot, they wondered to see the mark so full of holes.

About one o'clock Massasoyt brought two fishes that he had shot: they were like bream, but three times so big, and better meat.* These being boiled, there were at least forty looked for a share in them. The most ate of them. This meal only we had in two nights and a day; and had not one of us bought a partridge, we had taken our journey fasting. Very importunate he was to have us stay with them longer. But we desired to keep the sabbath at home, and feared we should either be light-headed for want of sleep; for what with bad lodging, the savages' barbarous singing, (for they used to sing themselves asleep) lice and fleas within doors, and musketoes without, we could hardly sleep all the time of our being there; we much fearing, that if we should stay any longer, we should not be able to recover home for want of strength. So that on Friday morning, before sun rising, we took our leave and departed, Massasoyt being both grieved and asbamed, that he could not better entertain us; and retaining Tisquantum to send from place to place to procure truck for us; and appointing another, called Tokamahamon in his place, whom we had found faithful before and after upon all occasions.

[Mourt's Journal.]

E. p. 70.

They brought us to their sachem, or governour, whom they call Iyanough,† a man not exceeding twenty-six years of age, but very personable, gentle, courteous, and fair conditioned, indeed not like a savage, save for his attire. His entertainment was answerable to his parts, and his cheer plentiful and various.

* "Probably the fish called tatau," says Dr. Belknap, Biog. Vol. II. p. 228.

† Sometimes called Iyanough of Cummaquid, and sometimes Iyanough of Mattakees, or Mattacheist, a territory which included the east part of Barnstable and the west part of Yarmouth. *Prince's Ann.* p. 108. *Geokin's Coll. Chap. VIII.* § 2. *Coll. Hist. Soc. Vol. III.* p. 15.

One thing was very grievous unto us at this place. There was an old woman, whom we judged to be no less than an hundred years old, which came to see us, because she never saw English; yet could not behold us without breaking forth into great passion, weeping and crying excessively. We demanding the reason of it, they told us, she had three sons, who, when Master Hunt was in these parts, went aboard his ship to trade with him, and he carried them captives into Spain, (for Tisquantum at that time was carried away also) by which means she was deprived of the comfort of her children in her old age. We told them we were sorry that any Englishman should give them that offence, that Hunt was a bad man, and that all the English that heard of it condemned him for the same; but for us, we would not offer them any such injury, though it would gain us all the skins in the country. So we gave her some small trifles, which somewhat appeased her.

After dinner we took boat for Nauset, Iyanough and two of his men accompanying us. Ere we came to Nauset the day and tide were almost spent; in so much as we could not go in with our shallop: but the sachem, or governour, of Cummaquid went ashore and his men with him. We also sent Tisquantum to tell Aspinet, the sachem of Nauset, wherefore we came. After sun set Aspinet came with a great train, and brought the boy with him. One bearing him through the water. He had not less than an hundred with him; the half whereof came to the shallop side, unarmed, with him; the other stood aloof with their bows and arrows. There he delivered us the boy, behung with beads, and made peace with us, we bestowing a knife on him, and likewise on another that first entertained the boy and brought him thither. So they departed from us.

[*Mouri's Journal.*]

F. p. 73.

The first patent to John Pierce, bears the seals and signatures of the Duke of Lenox, the Marquis of Hamilton, the Earl of Warwick, and of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. There is another signature so obscurely written, as to be illegible. It grants to the patentee and his associates, who are recited to have undertaken

a plantation in New-England, 100 acres of land, for each person, if they should continue there three years; either at one or several times, or die in the mean season, after they should be shipped, with intent there to inhabit; the land to be taken and chosen in any place or places not inhabited or settled by any English, or by order of the Council made choice of; and with the further allowance of 100 acres for every person sent by the undertakers, at their own expence, to the intended plantation, within the term of seven years, reserving a quit rent of 2s. for each 100 acres, to be paid to the President and Council of New-England, after the expiration of seven years. Fifteen hundred acres for every undertaker, are granted for the erection of churches, schools, hospitals, town houses, &c. and for the maintenance of Magistrates and Officers. Free liberty of fishing on the coasts, and in the bays, harbours, &c. of New-England is granted, and freedom of trade with England, or elsewhere, paying such duties, as the Council were holden to pay: also privilege of trading with the savages, and "to hunt, hawk, fish, or fowl, in any place not inhabited by any English." There is a covenant for further assurance, and, after due survey of the lands located, within seven years, for enscoffment and confirmation of the territory, by letters of Incorporation, with authority to make laws, ordinances and constitutions, for the rule and government of all persons belonging to the plantation. Authority is also given to defend the possessions and privileges granted, by force of arms, against all invaders and intruders, and when the lands granted should be planted, it is agreed that there shall be a further allowance and grant of 50 acres for each person transported and settled in the plantation. The patentees agree to cause a particular account to be rendered of all persons conveyed to the plantation, and "that they shall apply themselves and their labours, in a large and competent manner, to the planting, setting, making and procuring of good and staple commodities, in and upon the said land granted unto them, as corn, and silk-grass, hemp, flax, pitch and tar, soap, ashes and pot ashes, iron, clapboards, and other the like materials."

It does not appear what use was made of this patent by the Plymouth planters; it was, not long afterward, superceded by

the second patent, surreptitiously obtained by Pierce, for his own benefit, and which, after his misfortunes, was assigned to the adventurers. [*See Memorial, p. 95, 96.*]

In the diary of Josiah Cotton, Esq. mentioned p. 344, he observes, that he was summoned to attend the meeting of the Commissioners, at Providence, in 1741, appointed to settle the line between Massachusetts and Rhode Island. "With a great deal of labour and cost," he says, "the Plymouth original patent was found at Plimton, and is now in the hands of Samuel Welles, Esq. in Boston." It has been suggested to the editor, that this notice has reference to the patent above recited, and will account for its being found in the Land Office. It is more probable that the patent of 1629, to William Bradford and associates, was the one intended. Some of Gov. Bradford's descendants, lived in Plimton, and may be supposed to have had possession of the patent. That instrument is now in the Register's Office at Plymouth. Mr. Welles, as a member of the Government of Massachusetts, was employed in determining some questions relative to the Plymouth Company's rights. The Patent of 1629, which contained the original grant of their territory, on the Kennebeck, was probably loaned to him for temporary use in that business.

G. p. 87.

"The corn being divided, which they had got, Master Weston's company went to their own plantation; it being further agreed, that they should return with all convenient speed, and bring their carpenter, that they might fetch the rest of the corn, and save their shallop.

At their return, Captain Standish, being recovered and in health, took another shallop, and went with them to the corn, which they found in safety as they left it. Also they mended the other shallop, and got all their corn aboard the ship. This was in January, as I take it, it being very cold and stormy; inso-much as, the harbour being none of the best, they were constrained to cut both the shallops from the ship's stern; and so lost them both a second time. But the storm being over, and seeking out they found them both, not having received any great hurt.

Whilst they were at Nauset, having occasion to lie on the shore, laying their shallop in a creek not far from them, an Indian came into the same, and stole certain beads, scissors, and other trifles out of the same; which, when the Captain missed, he took certain of his company with him, and went to the sachem, telling him what had happened, and requiring the same again, or the party that stole them, who was known to certain of the Indians; or else he would revenge it on them before his departure; and so took leave for that night, being late, refusing whatsoever kindness they offered. On the morrow the sachem came to their rendezvous, accompanied with many men, in a stately manner; who saluting the Captain in this wise: he thrust out his tongue, that one might see the root thereof, and therewith licked his hand from the wrist to the finger's end, withal bowing the knee, striving to imitate the English gesture, being instructed therein formerly by Tisquantum. His men did the like, but in so rude and savage a manner, as our men could scarce forbear to break out in open laughter. After salutation, he delivered the beads and other things to the Captain, saying he had much beaten the party for doing it; causing the women to make bread, and bring them according to their desire; seeming to be very sorry for the fact, but glad to be reconciled. So they departed, and came home in safety; where the corn was equally divided as before.

In the beginning of March, having refreshed himself, he [Standish] took a shallop, and went to Manomet, to fetch home that which the governour had formerly bought, hoping to get more from them; but was deceived in his expectation, not finding that entertainment he found elsewhere, and the governour had there received. The reason whereof, and of the treachery intended in the place before spoken of, was not then known unto us, but afterwards: wherein may be observed the abundant mercies of God, working with his providence for our good. Capt. Standish being now far from the boat, and not above two or three of our men with him, and as many with the shallop, was not long at Canacum, the sachem's house, but in came two of the Massachusetts men. The chief of them was called Wituwamat, a notable insulting villain, one who had formerly imbrued his hands in the blood of English and French, and had oft boast-

ed of his own valour, and derided their weakness, especially because, as he said, they died crying, making sour faces more like children than men.

This villain took a dagger from about his neck, which he had gotten of Master Weston's people, and presented it to the sachem; and after made a long speech in an audacious manner, framing it in such sort, as the Captain, though he be the best linguist amongst us, could not gather any thing from it. The end of it was afterward discovered to be as followeth. The Massachuseuks formerly concluded to ruinate Master Weston's colony; and thought themselves, being about thirty* or forty men strong, enough to execute the same. Yet they durst not attempt it, till such time as they had gathered more strength to themselves, to make their party good against us at Plymouth; concluding, that if we remained, though they had no other arguments to use against us, yet we would never leave the death of our countrymen unrevenge; and therefore their safety could not be without the overthrow of both plantations. To this end they had formerly solicited this sachem, as also the other called Ianough* at Mattachiest, and many others, to assist them; and now again came to prosecute the same; and since there was so fair an opportunity offered by the Captain's presence, they thought best to make sure of him and his company.

After this message was delivered, his entertainment much exceeded the Captain's; insomuch as he scorned at their behaviour; and told them of it. After which they would have persuaded him, because the weather was cold, to have sent the boat for the rest of his company; but he would not, desiring, according to promise, that the corn might be carried down, and he would content the women† for their labour; which they did. At the same time there was a lusty Indian of Paomet,‡ or Cape Cod, then present, who had ever demeaned himself well towards us, being in his general carriage very affable, courteous, and loving, especially towards the Captain. This savage was now entered into confederacy with the rest; yet, to avoid suspicion, made many signs of his continued affections, and would

* Or Iyanough.

† See Belkn. Biog. II. 457. Williams' Key. chap. XVI. Cookin. chap. III. §. 3.

‡ Or Pamet, now called Truro.

needs bestow a kettle of some six or seven gallons on him, and would not accept of any thing in lieu thereof, saying he was rich, and could afford to bestow such favours on his friends whom he loved. Also he would freely help to carry some of the corn, affirming he had never done the like in his life before; and the wind being bad would needs lodge with him at their rendezvous, having indeed undertaken to kill him before they parted; which done, they intended to fall upon the rest.

The night proved exceeding cold; insomuch as the Captain could not take any rest, but either walked, or turned himself to and fro at the fire. This the other observed, and asked wherefore he did not sleep as at other times; who answered, He knew not well, but had no desire at all to rest. So that he then missed his opportunity.

The wind serving on the next day, they returned home, accompanied with the other Indian; who used many arguments to persuade them to go to Paomet, where himself had much corn, and many other; the most whereof he would procure for us, seeming to sorrow for our wants. Once the Captain put forth with him, and was forced back by contrary wind; which wind served for the Massachusett, was fitted to go thither. But on a sudden it altered again." [*Good News from New-England.*]

H. p. 89.

"The next day, [March 1623] about one of the clock, we came to a ferry* in Conbatants country, where upon discharge of my piece, divers Indians came to us, from a house not far off. There they told us, that Massassowat was dead, and that day buried; and that the Dutch would be gone before we could get thither, having hove off their ship already. This news struck us blank; but especially Hobbarnock, who desired we might return with all speed. I told him I would first think of it, considering now, that he being dead, Conbatant was the most like to succeed him, and that we were not above three miles from Mattapuyst,† his dwelling place. Although he were but

* Probably the same which is now called Slade's Ferry in Swanzy.

Belknap's Biog. II. 292.

† A neck of land, in the township of Swanzy, commonly pronounced Mattapuisset.

Belknap, ibid.

a hollow-hearted friend towards us, I thought no time so fit as this to enter into more friendly terms with him, and the rest of the sachems thereabout; hoping, through the blessing of God, it would be a means, in that unsettled state, to settle their affections towards us; and though it were somewhat dangerous, in respect of our personal safety, because myself and Hobbamock had been employed upon a service against him,* which he might now fitly revenge; yet esteeming it the best means, leaving the event to God in his mercy, I resolved to put it in practice, if Master Hamden and Hobbamock durst attempt it with me; whom I found willing to that or any other course might tend to the general good. So we went towards Mattapuyst.

In the way, Hobbamock, manifesting a troubled spirit, brake forth into these speeches. *Neen womasu Sagimus, neen womasu Sagimus*, &c. My loving sachem, my loving sachem! Many have I known, but never any like thee. And turning to me, he said: Whilst I lived, I should never see his like amongst the Indians; saying, he was no liar; he was not bloody and cruel, like other Indians. In anger and passion he was soon reclaimed; easy to be reconciled towards such as had offended him; ruled by reason in such measure as he would not scorn the advice of mean men; and that he governed his men better with few strokes, than others did with many; truly loving where he loved; yea, he feared we had not a faithful friend left among the Indians; showing how he oft-times restrained their malice, &c. continuing a long speech, with such signs of lamentation and unfeigned sorrow, as it would have made the hardest heart relent.

At length we came to Mattapuyst, and went to the *sachime comaco*, for so they called the sachem's place, though they call an ordinary house *witeo*; but Conbatant, the sachem, was not at home, but at Puckanokick, which was some five or six miles off. The *squa-sachem*, for so they call the sachem's wife, gave us friendly entertainment. Here we inquired again concerning Massassowat: they thought him dead, but knew no certainty. Whereupon I hired one to go, with all expedition, to Puckanokick, that we might know the certainty thereof, and withal to acquaint Conbatant with our there being. About half an hour

* See Prince 110.

before sun-setting the messenger returned, and told us that he was not yet dead, though there was no hope we should find him living. Upon this we were much revived, and set forward with all speed, though it was late within night ere we got thither. About two of the clock, that afternoon, the Dutchmen departed; so that in that respect our journey was frustrate.

When we came thither, we found the house so full of men, as we could scarce get in, though they used their best diligence to make way for us. There were they in the midst of their charms for him, making such a hellish noise, as it distempered us that were well, and therefore unlike to ease him that was sick. About him were six or eight women, who chafed his arms, legs, and thighs, to keep heat in him. When they had made an end of their charming, one told him that his friends, the English, were come to see him. Having understanding left, but his sight was wholly gone, he asked, who was come? They told him Winsnow, for they cannot pronounce the letter *l*, but ordinarily *n* in the place thereof. He desired to speak with me. When I came to him, and they told him of it, he put forth his hand to me, which I took. Then he said twice, though very inwardly, *Keen Winsnow?* which is to say, Art thou Winslow? I answered, *Ahhe*, that is, Yes. Then he doubled these words: *Matta neen wonckanet namen, Winsnow!* that is to say, O Winslow, I shall never see thee again.

Then I called Hobbamock, and desired him to tell Massasowat, that the governour, hearing of his sickness, was sorry for the same; and though, by reason of many businesses, he could not come himself, yet he sent me with such things for him, as he thought most likely to do him good in this extremity; and whereof if he pleased to take, I would presently give him; which he desired; and having a confection of many comfortable conserves, on the point of my knife, I gave him some, which I could scarce get thorough his teeth. When it was dissolved in his mouth, he swallowed the juice of it; whercat those that were about him much rejoiced, saying, he had not swallowed any thing in two days before. Then I desired to see his mouth, which was exceedingly furred, and his tongue swelled in such a manner, as it was not possible for him to eat such meat as they had, his passage being stopped up. Then I wash-

ed his mouth, and scraped his tongue, and got abundance of corruption out of the same. After which I gave him more of the confection which he swallowed with more readiness. Then he desired to drink. I dissolved some of it in water, and gave him thereof. Within half an hour this wrought a great alteration in him, in the eyes of all that beheld him. Presently after his sight began to come to him. — — — — —

— — — — — Then I gave him more, and told him of a mishap we had, in breaking a bottle of drink, which the governour also sent him, saying, if he would send any of his men to Patuxet, I would send for more of the same; also for chickens to make him broth, and for other things, which I knew were good for him; and would stay the return of his messenger, if he desired. This he took marvellous kindly, and appointed some, who were ready to go by two of the clock in the morning; against which time I made ready a letter, declaring therein our good success, the state of his body, &c. desiring to send such things as I sent for, and such physick as the surgeon durst administer to him.

He requested me, that the day following, I would take my piece, and kill him some fowl, and make him some English pottage, such as he had eaten at Plymouth; which I promised. After, his stomach coming to him, I must needs make him some without fowl, before I went abroad, which somewhat troubled me; but being I must do somewhat, I caused a woman to bruise some corn, and take the flour from it, and set over the grit, or broken corn, in a pipkin, for they have earthen pots of all sizes. When the day broke, we went out, it being now March, to seek herbs, but could not find any but strawberry leaves, of which I gathered a handful, and put into the same; and because I had nothing to relish it, I went forth again, and pulled up a sassafras root, and sliced a piece thereof, and boiled it, till it had a good relish, and then took it out again. The broth being boiled, I strained it thorough my handkerchief, and gave him at least a pint, which he drank, and liked it very well. After this his sight mended more and more; — — — — —
— — — — — and he took some rest; insomuch as we with admiration blessed God for giving his blessing to such raw and

ignorant means; making no doubt of his recovery, himself and all of them acknowledging us the instruments of his preservation. That morning he caused me to spend in going from one to another; amongst those that were sick in the town, requesting me to wash their mouths also, and give to each of them some of the same I gave him, saying they were good folk. This pains I took with willingness, though it were much offensive to me, not being accustomed with such poisonous savours.

The messengers were now returned; but finding his stomach come to him, he would not have the chickens killed, but kept them for breed. Neither durst we give him any physick, which was then sent; because his body was so much altered since our instructions; neither saw we any need, not doubting now of his recovery, if he were careful. Many, whilst we were there, came to see him; some, by their report, from a place, not less than an hundred miles. Upon this his recovery, he brake forth into these speeches: Now I see the English are my friends and love me; and whilst I live, I will never forget this kindness they have showed me. Whilst we were there, our entertainment exceeded all other strangers.

[*Good News from New-England.*]

I. p. 91.

The three and twentieth of March being now come, which is a yearly court day, the governour, having a publick testimony, and many circumstances agreeing with the truth thereof, not being to undertake war without the consent of the body of the company, made known the same in publick court. We came to this conclusion, that Captain Standish should take so many men, as he thought sufficient to make his party good against all the Indians in the Massachuset bay; and because, as all men know that have to do with them in that kind, it is impossible to deal with them upon open defiance, but to take them in such traps as they lay for others; therefore he should pretend trade as at other times: but first go to the English, and acquaint them with the plot, and the end of his own coming, that comparing it with their carriage towards them, he might better judge of the certainty of it, and more fitly take opportunity to

revenge the same: but should forbear, if it were possible, till such time as he could make sure Wituwamat, that bloody and bold villain before spoken of; whose head he had order to bring with him, that he might be a warning and terrour to all that disposition.

Upon this Captain Standish made choice of eight men, and would not take more, because he would prevent jealousy, knowing their guilty consciences would soon be provoked thereunto. [Good News from New-England.]

The Captain being now come to the Massachusets, went first to the ship; but found neither man, or so much as a dog therein. Upon the discharge of a musket, the master and some others of the plantation showed themselves, who were on the shore gathering ground-nuts, and getting other food. [ib.]

In the mean time an Indian came to him, and brought some furs, but rather to gather what he could from the Captain's, than coming then for trade; and though the Captain carried things as smoothly as possibly he could; yet at his return, he reported he saw by his eyes, that he was angry in his heart; and therefore began to suspect themselves discovered. This caused one Pecksuot, who was a paniese, being a man of a notable spirit, to come to Hobbamock, who was then with them, and told him, he understood that the Captain was come to kill himself and the rest of the savages there. Tell him, said he, we know it, but fear him not, neither will we shun him; but let him begin when he dare, he will not take us unawares. Many times after, divers of them severally, or few together, came to the plantation to him; where they would whet and sharpen the point of their knives before his face, and use many other insulting gestures and speeches. Amongst the rest Wituwamat bragged of the excellency of his knife. On the end of the handle there was pictured a woman's face; but, said he, I have another at home, wherewith I have killed both French and English, and that hath a man's face on it; and by and by these two must marry. Further he said of that knife he there had; *Hinnaim namen, hinnaim michen, matta cuts*: that is to say, By and by it should see, and by and by it should eat, but not speak. Also Pecksuot, be-

ing a man of greater stature than the Captain, told him, though he were a great captain, yet he was but a little man: and, said he, though I be no sachem, yet I am a man of great strength and courage. These things the Captain observed, yet bare with patience for the present

On the next day, seeing he could not get many of them together at once, and this Pecksuot and Wituwamat both together, with another man, and a youth of some eighteen years of age, which was brother to Wituwamat, and villain-like trod in his steps, daily putting many tricks upon the weaker sort of men, and having about as many of his own company in a room with them, gave the word to his men, and the door being fast shut, began himself with Pecksuot, and snatching his own knife from his neck, though with much struggling, killed him therewith, the point whereof he had made as sharp as a needle, and ground the back also to an edge. Wituwamat and the other man the rest killed, and took the youth, whom the Captain caused to be hanged. But it is incredible how many wounds these two panieses received before they died, not making any fearful noise, but catching at their weapons and striving to the last. Hobbamock stood by all this time, and meddled not, observing how our men demeaned themselves in this action. All being here ended, smiling, he brake forth into these speeches to the Captain: Yesterday Pecksuot, bragging of his own strength and stature, said, though you were a great captain, yet you were but a little man; but to-day I see you are big enough to lay him on the ground. But to proceed; there being some women at the same time, Captain Standish left them in the custody of Master Weston's people at the town, and sent word to another company, that had intelligence of things, to kill those Indian men that were amongst them. These killed two more. Himself also with some of his own men went to another place, where they killed another; and through the negligence of one man an Indian escaped, who discovered and crossed their proceedings. [ib.]

Captain Standish took the one half of his men, and one or two of Master Weston's, and Hobbamock, still seeking to make spoil of them and theirs. At length they espied a file of In-

dians, which made towards them amain; and there being a small advantage in the ground, by reason of a hill near them, both companies strove for it. Captain Standish got it; whereupon they retreated, and took each man his tree, letting fly their arrows amain, especially at himself and Hobbamock: whereupon Hobbamock cast off his coat, and being a known paniese, theirs being now killed, chased them so fast, as our people were not able to hold way with him; insomuch as our men could have but one certain mark, and then but the arm and half face of a notable villain, as he drew at Captain Standish; who together with another both discharged at him, and brake his arm; whereupon they fled into a swamp. When they were in the thicket, they parleyed, but to small purpose, getting nothing but foul language. So our Captain dared the sachem to come out and fight him like a man, showing how base and woman-like he was in tonguing it as he did: but he refused and fled. So the Captain returned to the plantation; where he released the women, and would not take their beaver coats from them, nor suffer the least discourtesy to be offered them.

Now were Master Weston's people resolved to leave their plantation, and go for Munhiggen, hoping to get passage and return with the fishing ships. The Captain told them, that for his own part he durst there live with fewer men than they were; yet since they were otherways minded, according to his orders from the governours and people of Plymouth, he would help them with corn competent for their provision by the way; which he did, scarce leaving himself more than brought them home. Some of them disliked the choice of the body to go to Munhiggen; and therefore desiring to go with him to Plymouth, he took them into the shallop: and seeing them set sail, and clear of the Massachuset bay, he took leave and returned to Plymouth; whither he came in safety, blessed be God! and brought the head of Wituwamet with him.

[*ib.*]

J. p. 93.

"Conditions upon which the English at Leyden, who intended to remove to America, engaged with some merchants in England, who were to be joint adventurers with them.

I. The adventurers and planters doe agree, that every person that goeth being sixteen yeeres old and upwards, bee rated at tenn pounds, and that tenn pounds be accounted a single share.

II. That he that goeth in person and furnisheth himself out with tenn pounds, either in money or other provisions, bee accounted as having tenn pounds in stocke, and in the division shall receive a double share.

III. The persons transported, and the adventurers, shall continue their joint stocke and partnership, the space of seaven yeeres, except some unexpected impediments do cause the whole company to agree otherwise; during which time all profits and benefitts, that are gotten by trade, trafficke, trucking, working, fishing, or any other means, of any other person or persons, remaine still in the common stocke, until the division.

IV. That, at their coming, they shall chuse out such a number of fit persons as may furnish their shipes and boats for fishing upon the sea; imploying the rest in their severall facultyes, upon the land, as building houses, tilling and planting the ground, and making such commodities as shall be most useful for the colony.

V. That at the end of the seaven yeeres, the capital and profits, viz. the houses, lands, goods, and chatels, be equally divided amongst the adventurers: if any debt or detriment concerning this adventure ——— *

VI. Whosoever cometh to the colony hereafter, or putteth any thing into the common stocke, shall, at the end of the seaven yeeres, bee allowed proportionably to the time of his soe doing.

VII. He that shall carrie his wife, or children, or servants, shall be allowed, for every person, now aged sixteen yeeres and upward, a single share in the division; or, if he provide them necessaries, a double share, or if they be between tenn yeeres old and sixteen, then two of them to bee reconed for a person, both in transportation and division.

* "Here something seems to be wanting, which cannot now be supplied."

[*Belk. Amer. Biog.* II, 182.]

VIII. That such children that now goe, and are under age of ten yeeres, have noe other share in the division than fivety acres of unmanured land.

IX. That such persons as dy before the seaven yeeres be expired, their executors to have theire parts or share, at the division, proportionably to the time of theire life, in the colony.

X. That all such persons as are of the colony are to have meat, drinke, and apparel, out of the common stocke and goods of the said colony."

[*Hazard's Coll. I, 89. from Hubbard's MS. History.*]

"The difference between the conditions thus expressed, and the former, before their alteration, stood in these two poynts; first, that the houses and lands improved, especially gardens and fields, should remayne undivided wholly to the planters at the seaven yeeres end, and that the planters should have two days in the weeke for theire owne private imployment for the comfort of themselves and theire famalys, especially such as had them to take care for. The altering of those two conditions were very afflictive to the mindes of such as were concerned in the voyage."

[*Ibid.*]

These conditions which were required by the adventurers in England, and to which the settlers at Plymouth found it necessary to consent, sufficiently repel the suggestion made by Dr. Robertson, and by some other writers, that these people, misguided by their religious theories, and in imitation of the primitive Christians, voluntarily threw all their property into a common stock. The editor is here bound to acknowledge, that he had once embraced the same opinion, and precipitately indulged in remarks, founded on such a conviction, which, though they may be abstractly true, further inquiry convinced him were in that instance misapplied. [*See Appendix to Cushman's Sermon, and Belkn. Amer. Biog. II, 270, 271.*] He embraced an opportunity to avow his mistake, in a discourse delivered at Plymouth, in the year 1809, on the anniversary of the landing of the fathers. The Rev. Mr. Abbot, of Beverly, afterwards, on a like occasion, without any knowledge of the contents of that discourse, which was not published, was led in his investigation of the subject, to a similar conclusion, and fully vindicated the

pilgrims from the censures which had been expressed relative to this branch of their proceedings.

K. p. 110.

"The fables of their grounds which came first over in the May Floure, according as their lots were cast, 1623.

The number of akers to each one.

* Robert Cochman,	1	Mr. Isaak Allerton,	7.
Mr. William Brewster,	6	John Billington,	3
William Bradford,	3	Peter Broun,	1
Richard Gardener,	1	Samuel Fuller,	2
Francis Cooke,	2	† Joseph Rogers,	2
George Soule,	1		

These contain twenty-nine akers.

These lye on the south side of the brooke, to the bay-wards.

These lye on the south side of the brooke, to the wood-ward, opposite to the former.

John Howland,	4	Edward	1
Stephen Hopkins,	6	Gilbard Winslow,	1
‡ Edward	1	Samuel Fuller, Juneor,	3

These contain sixteen akers, besides Hobamak's ground, which lieth between Jo. Howland's and Hopkinse.

This five akers lyeth behind the forte to the little pond.§

William White,	5
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* We do not find this name on the list of the pilgrims, (p. 39.) Being placed here, at the head of the list, we cannot, without much hesitation, consider it is as indicating one of the children or servants belonging to some of the families whose names are not announced; and are led to conjecture, that Robert *Cushman* was the person intended. He did not, indeed, come in the May Flower; but he was one of those who had embarked in the other ship which put back: this circumstance, with the zealous and prominent part he had taken in the enterprise, and the confident expectation of his future settlement in the plantation, might have led to this location in his name, and to his being placed with the *first comers*.

† This name is not on the primitive list, (p. 39.) He was, probably, a son of Thomas Rogers, who died in the first winter.

‡ The blanks to this name and the next, it may be presumed, should be filled with the names of *Doten* and *Leister*.

§ This description is supposed to have been intended only for the allotment to William White.

Edward Winslow,	4	
Richard Warren,	2	
John Goodman,	}	[The figures which were annexed to these names are obliterated.]
John Crakstone,		
John Alden,		
* Marie Hilton,		
Captn Miles Standish,	2	
Francis Eaton,	4	
† Henerie Samson,	1	
† Humilitie Cooper,	1	

These lye on the north side of the towne, next adjoining to their gardens which came in the Fortune.

The sales of their grounds who came in the Fortune, according as their lots were cast, (1623)

These lye to the sea, eastward.

‡ William Hilton,	1
John Winslow,	1

* Probably Mary Chilton here intended, afterward married to John Winslow, who came in the ship *Fortune*. It is supposed that she was a daughter of James Chilton, who died in the first winter. There is a tradition, that she was the first person who leaped upon the *Rock*, at the landing of the fathers, at Plymouth. This distinction has been claimed for others, particularly for John Alden. "For the purposes of the arts," says the author of the *Notes on Plymouth*, "a female figure, typical of faith, hope and charity, is well adapted." [*Hist. Col. III, 174, 2d Series.*] As there is a great degree of uncertainty on this subject, it is not only grateful, but allowable, to indulge the imagination, and we may expect from the friends of John Alden, that they should give place to the lady.

† Henry Samson and Humilitie Cooper are not named in the list above mentioned. They must have been included in some of the families, which cannot now be designated. In the division of cows and goats in 1627, they are in the company of which Elder Brewster was the head. Henry Samson married Ann Plummer, and settled in Duxbury. His descendants are numerous in the Old Colony.

‡ In Purchas' Pilgrims, (Part IV, 1840,) we find the following letter from William Hilton, to a kinsman, in England.

"Loving Cousin, at our arrival at New-Plimonth, in New-England, wee found all our friends and planters in good health, though they were left sicke and weake, with very small meanes: the Indians round about us peaceable and friendly; the country very pleasant and temperate, yeelding naturally of itselfe great store of fruits, as vines of diuers sorts, in great abundance. There is, likewise, walnuts, cheanuts, small nuts and plums, with much varietie of flowers, roots and herbs, no less pleasant than wholesome and profitable. No place hath more goose-berries and strawberries, nor better; timber, of all sorts you have in England, doth cover the land, that affords beasts of diuers sorts, and great flocks of turkies, quails, pigeons and

William Coner,	1	William Tench,	} 2
John Adams,	1	John Cannon,	}
These following lye beyonde the . 2 . brooke.			
Hugh Statie,	1	Austin Nicolas,	1
William Beale,	} 2	Widow Foord,	4
Thomas Cushman,	}		

Fifteen akers.

These lye beyond the first brooke, to the wood westward.

William Wright,	} 2	James Steward,	1
William Pitt,	}	William Palmer,	2
Robert Hickes,	1	Jonathan Brewster,	1
Thomas Prence,	1	Bennet Morgan,	1
Stephen Dean,	1	Thomas Flavell	} 2
Moyes Simonson,	} 2	and his son,	}
* Philipe de la noye,	}	Thomas Morton,	1
Edward Bompasse,	1	William Bassite,	2
Clement Brigges,	1		

Nineteen akers.

The fales of their grounds which came over in the shipe called the Anne, according as their [lots] were cast, 1623.

James Rande, 1 aker.

partridges; many great lakes, abounding with fish, fowle, beavers and otters. The sea affords us great plentie of all excellent sorts of sea-fish, as the rivers and illes doth varietie of wild fowle, of most useful sorts. Mynes we find, to our thinking, but neither the goodness nor qualitie we know. Better graine cannot be than the *Indian Corne*, if we will plant it upon as good ground as a man need desire. Wee are all free-holders; the rent day doth not trouble us, and all those good blessings wee have, of which and what we list for taking.

Our company are, for most part, very religious, honest people; the word of God sincerely taught us every Sabbath; so that I know not any thing a contented mind can here want. I desire your friendly care to send my wife and children to mee, where I wish all the friends I have in England, and so I rest

Your loving Kinsman,

WILLIAM HILTON."

There is no date to this letter. Mr. Hazard seems to suppose that it was sent in the *May Flower*, in April 1621; [*Collections* I, p. 120;] but it appears that the writer was not then in the country. He came in the ship *Fortune*, in November, 1621, and his letter, it would seem, was sent by that ship on her return. We find his wife and two children, mentioned among those who came in the *Ann* in 1623.

* Hence the name of *Delans*, which we find in *Plymouth*, *Kingston*, *Duxbury*, *New Bedford*, and other towas in the Old Colony.

These following lye beyonde the brooke to Strawberie hill.

Edmond Flood,	-	-	-	1
Christopher Connant,	-	-	-	1
Francis Cooke,	-	-	-	4

These butt against the Swampe and Reed Ponde.

George Morton,	}	-	-	-	2
Experience Michell,		-	-	-	
Christian Penn,	-	-	-	-	1
Thomas Morton, Jun.	-	-	-	-	1
William Hilton's wife and two children,					3

These to the Sea Eastward.

Francis Spragge,	-	-	-	-	3
Edward Burcher,	-	-	-	-	2
John Jenings,	-	-	-	-	5
Goodwife Flavell,	-	-	-	-	1
Manasseh and John Faunce,	-	-	-	-	2

This goeth in with a corner by the pond.

Alice Bradford,	-	-	-	-	1
Robert Hickes, his wife and children,	-	-	-	-	4
Brigett Fuller,	-	-	-	-	1
Ellen Newton,	-	-	-	-	1
Patience and Fear Brewster,	}	-	-	-	3
with Robert Long,		-	-	-	
William Heard,	-	-	-	-	1
* Ms. Standish,	-	-	-	-	1

These following lye on the other side of the towne towards the Elele river.

Marie Bucket, adjoining to Joseph Rogers,	1
† Mr. Ouldom, and those joynd with him,	10
Cudbart Cudbartsone,	6
Anthony Anable,	4
Thomas Tilden,	3
Richard Warren,	6
Bangs,	4

* Mrs. Standish, the second wife of Captain Miles Standish is supposed to be here intended. By the list, in the division of cattle, we find that her first name was *Barbara*.

† John Oldham, afterward, in connexion with Lyford, the author of much disquietude in the plantation.

Robert Rattliffe, beyonde the Swampe	}	4
and Stonie grounde,		
These butt against Hobs-hole.		
Nicolas Snow,	- - - - -	1
Anthony Dixe,	- - - - -	(worn off)
Mr. Perres 2 Servants,	- - - - -	
Ralfe Walen,	- - - - -	

South Side.	North Side.
Steph. Tracy, three acres—3	Edw. Holman, 1 acre—1
Tho. Clarke, one acre—1	Frances, wife to
Robt. Bartlet, one acre—1	Willm. Palmer, } 1 acre.
	Josiah Pratt, } —2
	Phineas Pratt, }

[*Plymouth Colony Records*, p. 4—10.]

The following transcript is copied from the first page of the first Book of Plymouth Colony Records. It is probably part of the allotment, made January 9, 1620—1, mentioned in the note, page 63, of the Memorial. It is evidently incomplete. The *Street* is supposed to correspond to the one now leading from the meeting-house to the harbour. The highway led to the town brook.

"The Meersteads and Garden Plotes of those which came first, layed out, 1620.

The North side.

South side.

Peter Brown,
John Goodman,
Mr. Brewster.

highway.

the street.

John Billington,
Mr. Isaak Allerton,
Francis Cooke,
Edward Winslow."

L. p. 130.

DIVISION OF CATTLE.

At a public Court, held the 22d of May, it was concluded, by the whole Company, That the Cattle which were the Company's, to wit, the Cows and the Goats, should be equally divided to all the persons of the same Company; and so kept, until the expiration of ten years after the date above written; and that every one should well and sufficiently provide for his own part, under penalty of forfeiting the same.

That the Old Stock, with half the increase, should remain for Common use, to be divided at the end of the said term; or otherwise as occasion falleth out. The other half to be their own forever.

Upon which agreement they were equally divided by lots, so as the burthen of the keeping the males then being, should be borne for common use, by those to whose lot the best cows should fall. And so the lots fell as followeth; thirteen persons being apportioned to one lot.

1. The first lot fell to Francis Cooke and his Company; joined to him his wife Hester Cooke,

3 John Cooke,	9 Philip Delanoy,
4 Jacob Cooke,	10 Experience Michael,†
5 Jane Cooke,	11 John Ffance,‡
6 Hester Cooke,	12 Joshua Pratt,
7 Mary Cooke,	13 Phinihas Pratt.
8 Moses Simonson,*	

To this lot fell the least of the four black heifers, ~~came~~ in the Jacob,§ and two she goats.

2. The second lot fell to Mr. Isaac Allerton, and his Company; joined to him his wife Fear Allerton,

3 Bartholomew Allerton,	6 Sarah Allerton,
4 Remember Allerton,	7 Godber Godberson,
5 Mary Allerton,	8 Sarah Godberson,

* Now Simmons.

† Mitchell.

‡ Ffancee.

§ We find no account in the History of the ship Jacob.

- | | |
|---------------------|----------------------|
| 9 Samuel Godberson, | 12 Edward Bompassee, |
| 10 Mary Priest, | 13 John Crackstone. |
| 11 Sarah Priest, | |

To this lot fell the great black cow, came in the Ann, to which they must keep the lesser of the two steers, and two she goats.

8. The third lot fell to Capt. Standish and his Company; joined to him his wife Barbara Standish,

- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------|
| 3 Charles Standish, | 9 John Winslow, |
| 4 Alexander Standish, | 10 Resolved White, |
| 5 John Standish, | 11 Peregrine White, |
| 6 Edward Winslow, | 12 Abraham Pierce, |
| 7 Susanna Winslow, | 13 Thomas Clarke. |
| 8 Edward Winslow, | |

To this lot fell the red cow, which belongeth to the poor of the Colony; to which they must keep her calf of this year, being a bull, for the Company. Also to this lot came two she goats.

4. The fourth lot fell to John Howland and his company; joined to him his wife,

- | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|
| 2 Elizabeth Howland, | 8 Priscilla Alden, |
| 3 John Howland, Jun. | 9 Elizabeth Alden, |
| 4 Desire Howland, | 10 Clement Briggs, |
| 5 William Wright, | 11 Edward Dotton,* |
| 6 Thomas Morton, Jun. | 12 Edward Holdman, |
| 7 John Alden, | 13 Jo. Alden.† |

To this lot fell one of the four heifers, came in the Jacob, called Raghorn.

5. The fifth lot fell to Mr. William Brewster and his company; joined to him,

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------|
| 2 Love Brewster, | 5 Henri Samson, |
| 3 Wrestling Brewster, | 6 Jonathan Brewster, |
| 4 Richard More, | 7 Lucrecia Brewster, |

* Doten, in the subscription to the Compact at Cape Cod, 1620; with the descendants, generally, the name is now Dotey.

† Probably a son of John Alden, before named.

- | | |
|---------------------|----------------------|
| 8 William Brewster, | 11 Patience Prince, |
| 9 Mary Brewster, | 12 Rebecka Prince, |
| 10 Thomas Prince, | 13 Humilitie Cooper, |

To this lot fell one of the four heifers, came in the Jacob, called the Blind Heifer, and two she goats.

6. The sixth lot fell to John Shaw and his company; joined to him,

- | | |
|--------------------|----------------------------|
| 2 John Adams, | 8 Elizabeth Bassite, |
| 3 Eleanor Adams,* | 9 William Bassite, Jun. |
| 4 James Adams, | 10 Elizabeth Bassite, Jun. |
| 5 John Winslow, | 11 Francis Sprague, |
| 6 Mary Winslow, | 12 Anna Sprague, |
| 7 William Bassite, | 13 Mercy Sprague. |

To this lot fell the lesser of the black cows, came at first in the Ann; with which they must keep the biggest of the two steers. Also to this lot was two she goats.

7. The seventh lot fell to Stephen Hopkins and his company; joined to him his wife,

- | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------|
| 2 Elizabeth Hopkins, | 8 William Palmer, |
| 3 Giles Hopkins, | 9 Frances Palmer, |
| 4 Caleb Hopkins, | 10 William Palmer, Jun. |
| 5 Debora Hopkins, | 11 John Billington, Sen. |
| 6 Nicolas Snow, | 12 Helen Billington, |
| 7 Constance Snow, | 13 Francis Billington. |

To this lot fell a black weaning calf; to which was added the calf of this year, to come of the black cow, which fell to John Shaw and his company, which, proving a bull, they were to keep it five years for common use, and after to make the best of it. Nothing belongeth of these two for the Company of the first stock, but only half the increase.

To this lot there fell two she goats; which goats they possess on the like terms which others do their cattle.

8. The eighth lot fell to Samuel Fuller and his company; joined to him his wife,

* Perhaps *Ellen Newton*, who came in the Ann.

2 Bridget Fuller,	8 Martha Ford,
3 Samuel Fuller, Jun.	9 Anthony Anable,
4 Peter Browne,	10 Jane Anable,
5 Martha Browne,	11 Sara Anable,
6 Mary Browne,	12 Hannah Anable,
7 John Ford,	13 Damaris Hopkins.

To this lot fell a red heifer, came of the cow which belongeth to the poor of the Colony, and so is of that consideration, viz. these persons nominated to have half the increase, the other half, with the old stock, to remain for the use of the poor.* To this lot also two she goats.

* In 1624, Mr. James Shirley, of London, one of the adventurers, a warm and steady friend to the Pilgrims, gave "a heifer to the plantation, to begin a stock for the poor." [See *Bradford's Letter Book, Hist. Coll. III, 35.*] In 1638, the following disposition was made of the stock remaining from this donation.

"1638, July 16. Townsmen of New Plimouth met at the Governor's, all the inhabitants from Jones River to Eel River, respecting the disposition of the stock of cows, given by Mr. James Shirley, of London, merchant.

Thomas Prence, Gent. Gov. William Bradford, Edward Winslow, Gent. Stephen Hopkins, John Doane, Thomas Willet, and John Dunham, appointed to dispose of them, to wit,

July 26. John Holmes, 5 shares,	}	In the brown back cow, which was at Geo. Sowles.
Tho. Hill, 4 do.		
Ralph Wallen, 2 do.		
John Shaw, 4	}	Shares in the pyed cow, which was Goodman Shaw's.
Francis Billington, 5		
William Hodgkinson, 2		
Joshua Pratt, 4	}	Shares in the black heifer, which was Henry Howland's.
Thomas Atkinson, 4		
Samuel Eddy, 4		
Mr. Ralph Smith, 6	}	Shares in the red cow, which was Mr. Smith's.
Nathl. Sowther, 6		
Mr. Hellet, 6	}	Shares in the brown back cow, came from Henry Howland's."
Thomas Lettice, 6		

It appears that Scituate and Duxbury had claimed a proportion of the stock accruing from Mr. Shirley's donation. His own views on this subject were requested, and a letter from him, dated Nov. 1633, is entered in the Plymouth Records. "For the Cow," said he, "I gave among the poor, and which the Lord hath been pleased to bless, I could not have any other thought than to the poor of Plimouth, and if you put off any bull calves, or when they grow to bigger stature, I pray let that money or moneys worth, purchase hose and shoes for the poor of Plimouth, or such necessities as they most want; and this I pray make known to all." All this gentleman's letters exhibit the most estimable dispositions. When Plymouth shall distinguish its streets and public places with the names of ancient worthies, that of *Shirley* should not be forgotten.

9. The ninth lot fell to Richard Warren and his company; joined with him his wife Elizabeth Warren,

- | | |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| 3 Nathaniel Warren, | 9 Abigail Warren, |
| 4 Joseph Warren, | 10 John Billington, |
| 5 Mary Warren, | 11 George Sowle, |
| 6 Ann Warren, | 12 Mary Sowle, |
| 7 Sara Warren, | 13 Zachariah Sowle. |
| 8 Elizabeth Warren, | |

To this lot fell one of the four black heifers that came in the Jacob, called the Smooth Horned Heifer, and two she goats.

10. The tenth lot fell to Francis Eaton and those joined with him, his wife Christian Eaton,

- | | |
|--------------------|---------------------|
| 3 Samuel Eaton, | 9 Ralph Wallen, |
| 4 Rahell Eator, | 10 Joyce Wallen, |
| 5 Stephen Tracie, | 11 Sarah Morton, |
| 6 Triphosa Tracie, | 12 Robert Bartlett, |
| 7 Sarah Tracie, | 13 Thomas Prence. |
| 8 Rebecca Tracie, | |

To this lot fell an heifer of the last year, called the White Bellied Heifer, and two she goats.

11. The eleventh lot fell to the Governour, Mr. William Bradford, and those with him, to wit, his wife,

- | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------|
| 2 Alice Bradford, and | 8 Manasses Kempton, |
| 3 William Bradford, Jun. | 9 Julian Kempton, |
| 4 Mercy Bradford, | 10 Nathaniel Morton, |
| 5 Joseph Rogers, | 11 John Morton, |
| 6 Thomas Cushman, | 12 Ephraim Morton, |
| 7 William Latham, | 13 Pacience Morton. |

To this lot fell an heifer of the last year, which was of the great white back cow, that was brought over in the Ann, and two she goats.

12. The twelfth lot fell to John Jenne and his company; joined to him his wife,

- | | |
|------------------|--------------------|
| 2 Sara Jenne, | 5 Sarah Jenne, |
| 3 Samuel Jenne, | 6 Robert Hickee, |
| 4 Abigail Jenne, | 7 Margaret Hickee, |

8 Samuel Hickey,	11 Phebe Hickey,
9 Ephraim Hickey,	12 Stephen Deane,
10 Lydia Hickey,	13 Edward Bangs.

To this lot fell the great white back cow, which was brought over with the first, in the Ann; to which cow the keeping of the bull was joined for these presents to provide for. Here also two she goats.

1627, May the 23d. It was further agreed at the same court, "That if any of the cattle should by accident miscarry, or be lost or hurt, that the same should be taken knowledge of by indifferent men, and judged whether the loss came by the negligence, or default of those entrusted; and if they were found faulty, that then such should be forced to make satisfaction for the companies, as also their partner's damage."

The above division was made soon after the connexion of the Plymouth settlers with the company of merchant adventurers in England was dissolved; and they had taken an assignment of the whole company stock, for one thousand eight hundred pounds, according to a contract made in their behalf by Mr. Allerton, their agent. [*See Prince. Chronol.* I, 165, 166; *Bradford's Letters, Hist. Coll.* III, 46—48.] It appears by the preamble, that this list contains "all the persons of the company." By comparing it with the list of names in the note K, the period at which many of these persons arrived will be ascertained: and the state of their several families can, in many instances, be determined. Mr. Hazard has inserted the introduction to this division in his valuable work; but the entire list has never before been published. It is in many respects of so much interest, that it appeared desirable to secure its preservation. There are several names (about thirty) on the list in note K, taken in 1623, which do not appear in this division. Deaths or removals may account for this difference.

M. p. 133.

The letters from the Dutch commander at Fort Amsterdam, were written March 9, 1627, [N. S.] and were answered on the 19th of the same month. In the month of September in the

same year, the Plymouth planters received a visit from M. De Razier. He first came to the Plymouth trading house at *Manomet*; "according to his request," says Governour Bradford, "we sent our boat for him, who came honourably attended with a noise of trumpeters; he was their upper *commis*, or chief merchant, and second to the Governour; a man of a fair and genteel behaviour, but soon fell into disgrace amongst them, by reason of their factions; and, thus at length, we came to meet and deal together. We at this time bought sundry of their commodities, especially their *sewan* or *wampampeak*, which was the beginning of a profitable trade with us and the Indians." [*Bradford's Letters, Hist. Coll.* III, 54.] Mr. Prince places this visit in 1623, and remarks on Mr. Hubbard's supposed mistake, who refers it to the preceding year. Mr. Hubbard was correct, as appears from the documents copied in the Historical Collections. Governour Bradford's letter to the Dutch government is dated October 1, 1627. In this letter, M. De Razier is mentioned, as being at that time at Plymouth. In the reply to the first letter from the Dutch, there is a grateful acknowledgment from the Plymouth people, of the kind reception and entertainment which they had received in Holland. After adverting to the friendship and good understanding between their respective parent countries, they proceed to observe, "Now forasmuch as this is sufficient to unite us together in love and good neighbourhood, yet are many of us further tied by the good and courteous entreaty, which we have found in your country; having lived there many years, with freedom and good content, as many of our friends do at this day; for which we are bound to be thankful, and our children after us, and shall never forget the same, but shall heartily desire your good and prosperity as our own, forever."

The government at Plymouth, took the earliest opportunity to communicate their proceedings, relative to this intercourse with the Dutch, to the Council of New-England. In Governour Bradford's letter to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, on the subject, he observes, that the Dutch "have used trading there [*Manhattan*,] these six or seven and twenty years, but have begun to plant of later time," &c. This would refer the Dutch trade on the

coast to some years before Hudson's discovery of the river, which bears his name. Dr. Belknap informs us, [*Amer. Biog.* I, 401.] that they had, for some time before, cast an eye on the fur trade, and had bribed some Frenchmen to admit them into the traffic at Acadia and St. Lawrence.

In the note respecting *wampum*, in page 133, Gookin's specification of the shell from which it was made is quoted; but the intimation is not sufficiently precise. By the *whelk*, or *wilk*, as it is called by Gookin, the *buccinum* is generally understood to be intended. The Editor received from the late Professor Peck, a reply to some inquiries on this subject. He was satisfied that *wampum* was made from the shell of the *paquawhock* or *quawhaug*, the *Venus mercatoria* of Linneus.

A traveller in this country, in the year 1760, describing his journey from Newark in New-Jersey, to New-York, by the way of Staten-Island, has the following remark; "In my way I had an opportunity of seeing the method of making *wampum*—It is made of the clam-shell; a shell, consisting within of two colours, purple and white, and in form not unlike a thick oyster-shell. The process of manufacturing it is very simple. It is first clipped to a proper size, which is that of a small oblong parallelopiped, then drilled, and, afterward, ground to a round smooth surface, and polished. The purple *wampum* is much more valuable than the white; a very small part of the shell being of that colour." [*Barnaby's Travels through the middle settlements of North America*, 60.]

The characters of the shell, here described, and which is denominated a *clam-shell*, are applicable to the *quahaug*.

N. p. 135.

[The letter N is, inadvertently, repeated, for reference, in page 147. The note intended by that reference immediately follows the first note here inserted.]

Mr. Allerton's departure from Plymouth on this voyage, was probably not in the autumn, as seems to be inferred by Mr. Prince; and is mentioned in the note, page 135, but in June, as

may be collected from Shirley's letter. [*Hist. Coll.* III, 49.] His principal business, at this time, was to ratify and confirm the bargain conditionally made, in the preceding year, with the adventurers. He carried with him bonds for the amount stipulated to be paid. Those bonds were separately given by Governour Bradford, William Brewster, Miles Standish, Isaac Allerton, Samuel Fuller, Edward Winslow, John Jenny, John Alden, and John Howland, two hundred pounds each, in behalf of the company. [*Hist. Coll.* III, 46—48.] These nine persons, from the responsibility which they thus laudably assumed, for the good of the plantation, were denominated, *the Undertakers*. Mr. Allerton returned in the spring following, (1628,) having made a satisfactory settlement with the adventurers, and paid to them the first instalment, two hundred pounds, of the sum agreed to be given for the purchase of the joint stock. He also discharged all the debts of the plantation to other persons, excepting Messrs. Shirley and Beauchamp, to whom more than four hundred pounds remained due. He received the promise of aid for the transportation of a company of their friends in Leyden, and brought a supply of goods for consumption and trade, with a patent for Kennebeck, "but so strait and ill-bounded," says Governour Bradford, "as we are forced to get [it] renewed and enlarged next year, as also *that we have at home, to our great charge.*" [*Prince*, 170.]

N. p. 147.

"We covenant with our Lord, and one with another, and we do bind ourselves in the presence of God, to walk together in all his ways, according as he is pleased to reveal himself unto us in his blessed word of truth, and do, explicitly, in the name and fear of God, profess and protest to walk as followeth, through the power and grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.

We avouch the Lord to be our God, and ourselves to be his people, in the truth and simplicity of our spirits.

We give ourselves to the Lord Jesus Christ and the word of his grace, for the teaching, ruling and sanctifying us in matters of worship and conversation, resolving to cleave unto him alone,

for life and glory, and to reject all contrary ways, canons, constitutions of men, in worship.

We promise to walk with our brethren, with all watchfulness and tenderness, avoiding jealousies and suspicions, back-bittings, censurings, provokings, secret risings of spirit against them, but in all offences, to follow the rule of our Lord Jesus Christ; and to bear and forbear, give and forgive, as he hath taught us.

In publick or in private, we will willingly do nothing to the offence of the church; but will be willing to take advice for ourselves and ours, as occasion shall be presented.

We will not, in the congregation, be forward either to show our own gifts and parts in speaking or scrupling, or there discover the weakness or failings of our brethren; but attend an orderly called thereunto, knowing how much the Lord may be dishonoured, and the Gospel and the profession of it slighted by our distempers and weaknesses in publick.

We bind ourselves to study the advancement of the Gospel in all truth and peace, both in regard of those that are within or without, no way slighting our sister churches, but using their counsel as need shall be; not laying a stumbling-block before any, no not the Indians, whose good we desire to promote, and so to converse as we may avoid the very appearance of evil.

We do hereby promise to carry ourselves in all lawful obedience to those that are over us, in church or commonwealth; knowing how well pleasing it will be to the Lord, that they should have encouragement in their places, by our not grieving their spirits through our irregularities.

We resolve to approve ourselves to the Lord in our particular callings, shunning idleness as the bane of our state; nor will we deal hardly or oppressingly with any, wherein we are the Lord's stewards. Promising also, unto our best ability, to teach our children and servants the knowledge of God and of his will, that they serve him also; and all this not by any strength of our own, but by the Lord Christ, whose blood we desire may sprinkle this our covenant made in his name." [Magnal, I, 18.]

The people at Salem consulted with those at Plymouth, in the settlement of their church order, and this instrument, which

is to be considered as expressing the character and views of those memorable worthies, is venerable for its antiquity, and estimable for its mild and benignant spirit. As the reverend author of the *Description of Salem*, justly observes, "It may be esteemed, if not for its theology, for its simplicity. If it speak not the language of a sect, it breathes the spirit of Christian union."

[*Hist. Coll.* VI, 243.]

O. p. 161.

Mr. Allerton's third voyage to England, which was principally for the procurement of the patents, and his return in August, 1629, without accomplishing the object of his mission, are mentioned in note, page 158. He went to England again on the same business, in the autumn of 1629, and, by assiduous application, obtained the patent of Jan. 29, 1629—30. Mr. Shirley, in his letter written on the 19th of March following, expresses his high sense of the services performed by the agent. "Till our main business of the patent was granted, I could not set my mind nor pen to writing; and Mr. Allerton was so turmoiled about it and found so many difficulties and oppositions, as verily I would not, nay, could not have undergone it, if I might have had a thousand pounds." [*Hist. Coll.* III, 70.] The agent was solicitous to obtain as ample powers of government as had been granted to the Massachusetts planters, in the preceding year, and to procure like exemption from custom-house duties, for a stipulated term of time. His exertions for these privileges were fruitless. "The Lord Keeper," says Mr. Shirley, ("the best of his rank,) furthered it all he could, and also the Solicitor; but, as Festus said to Paul, with no small sum obtained I this freedom; for, by the way, there were many riddles which must be resolved, and many locks must be opened with the silver, nay, the golden key." [*ibid.*] Mr. Allerton's return to England, for the accomplishment of this object, is strongly pressed in Mr. Shirley's letter. "If you had this granted," he observes, "then were you complete, and might bear such sway and government as were fit for your rank and place that God hath called you unto, and stop the mouths of base and scurrilous fellows that are ready to question and threaten you in eve-

ry action you do; and besides, if you have the custom free for seven years inward, and twenty-one years outward, the charge of the patent will soon be recovered, and there is no fear of obtaining it." [*ibid.* 71.] Mr. Shirley's sanguine expectations were never realized, though it appears, that Mr. Allerton returned again to England, according to his urgent request. "The clause about the customs was not thought of by the colony," says Governour Bradford, "nor much regarded, but unhappily put in by Mr. Allerton and Shirley's device, or the charter without all question had been finished, having passed the king's hand; but by that means this opportunity being lost, it was never accomplished, but above five hundred pounds vainly and lavishly cast away about it." [*Prince*, 203.] There is a degree of severity in this remark, produced by a fruitless, and perhaps unauthorized expense, which, it would seem, required to be tempered by Shirley's excellent letters, and his cordial approbation of Mr. Allerton's conduct. "Mr. Bradford," says he, "give me leave to put you in mind of one thing; here are many of your Leyden people now come over, and though I have ever had good thoughts of them, yet believe not every one, what they shall report of Mr. Allerton, he hath been a trusty honest friend to you all, either there or here." [*ibid.* 69.]

When Governour Bradford and his eight associates had assumed the responsibility for the Company's debts, mentioned in note N, they entered into an agreement with the rest of the company, to hire the trade of the colony for six years, "and for this," says Governour Bradford, "with the shallop called the Bass-boat and Pinnace, lately built at Monamet, with the stock in the store-house, we, this month, [July, 1627,] undertake to pay the one thousand eight hundred pounds, with all other debts of the plantation, amounting to six hundred more; bring over for them fifty pounds a year in ~~clothes~~ and shoes, sell them corn at six shillings a bushel, and, at the end of the term, return the trade to the colony." [*Prince. Chron.* 168.] The agreement at length, is in *Hist. Coll.* III, 60, but without date. Mr. Fuller's name is not to that instrument, though he united with the rest in the bonds given to the adventurers in England. Four of the adventurers, James Shirley, John Beauchamp,

Richard Andrews, and Timothy Hatherly, joined this association, and Mr. Shirley, in one of his letters, [*Hist. Coll.* III, 65,] mentions Mr. Collier and Mr. Thomas as being joint partners in the same concern. It would appear, that the bringing over their Leyden friends, for which they were so solicitous, was included in the engagement of these partners, [*Prince*, 168, 169,] but is not inserted in the agreement. The whole expense of transporting the two companies which came over, one in 1629, the other in 1630, was, in fact, paid and sustained by the undertakers. [*Prince* 192—201. *Hist. Coll.* III, 74.]

The project of a trading establishment at Penobscot was not acceptable to the Plymouth people, but from respect to their good friends in England, who had originated the plan, they would not withhold their concurrence. [*Hist. Coll.* III, 74.]

Our information, in regard to Mr. Allerton, after this period, is not such as we could wish. We find him at Salem, in July, 1630, with Mr. Winslow and Mr. Fuller, advising and assisting Mr. Endicot and his company. [*Hist. Coll.* III, 75.] Dr. Eliot conjectures that he spent the remainder of his days with the people at Plymouth; [*Biog. Dict.* 26;] but it is difficult to reconcile this supposition with the silence, in regard to him, in the latter period of old colony history. Such a man could not have slumbered in inactivity. In 1631, Governour Winthrop mentions his return from England, in the ship *White Angel*. In 1633, the same writer notices the loss of a "trading wigwam" at Machias, "which Mr. Allerton, of Plymouth, and some others, had set up." In 1634, the wreck of his pinnace from Port Royal is mentioned, and in 1635, the loss of his bark at Cape Ann is noted. [*Win. Journ.* 27, 57, 78, 85.] We do not find his name mentioned, afterward, by any of the early writers. These misfortunes, and he was probably also a sufferer by the loss of the Plymouth trading house at Penobscot, in 1635, it is supposed, urged him to change his residence, and to apply himself for retrieving his affairs in some other situation. An esteemed friend, whose researches have been prompted by a high regard for the character of this deserving man, has noted, that Mr. Allerton, at one time, held a farm at Duxbury, and that mention is made, in early records, of *Allerton's Hill*, in that town. "In 1646," he observes,

"Mr. Allerton appears to be an inhabitant of New-Amsterdam. New-Netherlands, [New-York.]" [*Ancient Vestiges*, M. 8.] Governour Hutchinson informs us, that he left the country and settled in England, and that his male posterity settled in Maryland. *Point Alderton*, at the entrance of Boston harbour, it is said, by the same author, took its name from Mr. Allerton. This has never been questioned, notwithstanding the slight variance in orthography. Like the promontory of Palinurus, it is respectfully regarded, as the memorial of an ancient worthy, and the appellation, perpetuating the memory of a man of the greatest commercial enterprize in those early times, is most fitly applied.

—— gaudet cognomine terra.

P. p. 173.

Extract of a Letter from Edward Winslow to Governour Winthrop.

"Honoured Sir,

"Yours of the 21st, (1.) '43, I received, and have imparted it to my partner, Mr. Collier; and perceive we are like to have some trouble about the controversie between Hartford and the Dutch. The letters from the Swedes and Dutch, I received, and have perused them, and, according to your desire, have returned them, with such advice as the Lord enableth me, for answer. And, first for the Dutch, I observe he writeth with great haughtiness of spirit, full of confidence, (as you say,) yet marvell, that a gentleman, so well bred, so great a traveller, and of so great experience, should not be more moderate in writing, especially in so publick a way. Witness his uncivill termes towards Mr. Hopkins, &c. whom we all know to be a man, that makes conscience of his word, as well as his actions. To many of the passages by him here related, I can say nothing, onely they agree too well with common fame, and I feare our brethren of Hartford will be found faulty in them, whosoever shall have the hearing of it, yet am ready to make good every particle of that relation, which I gave upon the solemn request, first of your general court, and then of the Commissioners, in regard of my experimentall knowledge of the first beginnings of them.

and us in Connecticut, to which also I added certain things which I had from Lieutenant Holmes, who was over our people there. For his answer to what I affirme, by that generall which he bringeth, if I should grant all he saith, how short it were you may easily judge, which, to my best remembrance, meddle not at all with any passages between them after they came to clash together. He saith, June the 6th, 1638, that I *would not defend the Hartford men's cause, for they had hitherto (or thus long) wronged the Dutch.* That I spake somewhat tending thereunto, I acknowledge. For Mr. Whiting and myself being at dinner with him, at his table, he flew out upon me, though unseasonably, being courteous both before and after to me, and charged me to be the man had more wronged the Dutch, than any other, by giving the first commission to the English, (being the Governour of Plymouth,) to disturb them at Connecticut, who were possessed before us, &c. But when I had taken off his courage, and returned the wrong upon themselves, and called Captain Curlo, being one of those five at dinner with us, to witness many things; Captain C. replied, the truth is with Mr. Winslow; faith, Sir, it is true; nor have we that cause to complain of them as of others. Whereupon he turned again to me, with violence: But will you justifie Hartford men (briefly charging them with many of the things in his letter,) nay, saith he, here sitteth the man next to you, whose house stands upon our ground, and hath thus and thus abused us, &c. To which I replied, No, Sir, I will not justifie Hartford men: It is sufficient I can justifie our own proceedings. But Mr. Whiting is of age, let him speak for himself: and this I added further, that not only myself, but many English, did conceive the Dutch had hard measure from them in sundry particulars, if things were true that were reported. And this was all I spake, to the best of my remembrance, and these were my words, the occasion, beginning, and end of them. But what is this to answer, that I affirme, that I had a place given (the place we after possessed) the year before the Dutch began in the river: that the Dutch came in by way of prevention, and stept in between us and our people, &c. that this was done without superior order from either the states or their masters, the West-Ind-

dia company, and so confessed by Curlo; that the river was not *vacuum domicilium*, but inhabited the year before, &c. that they bought of Tatobum, whose title to the river was by conquest; that I brought in Attawanhut, and there left him, where he lived and died upon the ground, whom Tatobum the tyrant had before expelled by war; that this Attawanhut, by the relation of Lieutenant Holmes, if he would have given way to it, would have cut off the Dutch, because they came in by Tatobum. I cannot remember all the particulars of that I gave under my owne hand writing, but one thing more of great consequence I call to mind, that Tatobum, for so we termed him, after he had chid me for bringing in his mortal enemy and countenancing him, as he did, would have had me (when indeed hee durst not attempt againe upon him) to have given him but a knife, or but an awl blade, for his consent to what I had done which I utterly refused, &c. Now, good Sir, I pray consider, what contradiction is here between my testimony given at your request, and either my words as they were by me spoken, or as he pens them, and would have them. But the truth is, I could say more about their entrance, and the unworthiness of it, if I would bring our Governour on the stage, but will not, while it is under hand without his leave."

Mr. Winslow's letter bears date at ~~Magn~~field, (2.) 6, 1644, but Governour Winthrop's letter to Governour Kieft, in which he refers to Mr. Winslow's communications, is dated (7.) 18, 1643.

Q. p. 174.

In that beautiful work, *Donovan's Insects of China*, there are interesting notices of the Cicada, from which is the following extract.

"Some species of this tribe were known to the ancients. With them it was the emblem of happiness and eternal youth; and if we examine the legends of pagan mythology, we find they were deemed a sort of creatures beloved by gods and men. The Athenians wore golden Cicada in their hair, to denote their national antiquity, or that, like these creatures, they were the first born of the earth; and the poets feigned that it partook

of their deities. Anacreon depicts in glowing colours the uninterrupted felicity of this creature; this ode to the Cicada is appropriate to our inquiry.

Happy creature! what below
Can more happy be than thou?
Seated on thy leafy throne,
(Summer weaves the verdant crown)
Sipping o'er the pearly lawn,
The pregnant nectar of the dawn;
Little tales thou lovest to sing,
Tales of mirth—an insect king;
Thine the treasures of the field,
All thy own the seasons yield;
Nature paints for thee the year,
Songster to the shepherds dear;
Innocent, of placid fame,
What of man can boast the same?"

[Green's Transl. Ode 43.]

In the infant state of music, men seem to have preferred the natural sounds of some animals, to those of their uncouth instruments. We cannot otherwise account for the extravagant praise, bestowed on the noise of this little creature. It is true, authors agree that the sounds of some kinds are exceeding loud and harmonious, and in the early ages of the world these might have a powerful influence on the human mind. It is related that the *ancient Locri*, a people of Greece, were so charmed with the sound of the Cicada, that they erected a statue to its honour.

The ancients had attentively observed the manners of its life, though they indulged in many poetical fictions concerning it; and particularly when they affirmed, that it subsisted on dew. They have told us, that it lives among trees, which circumstance discountenances the opinions of those moderns, who imagine the grasshoppers were the Cicada of the ancients.

Neither were they ignorant that the males only were furnished with those instruments which externally appear to produce its sound, or the purpose for which that sound was emitted;* though it was reserved for more accurate naturalists to discover the complex organs by which it was caused and modulated. Aldrovandus, near two centuries ago, described the

* The purpose is supposed to be the allurement of the female,

lamellæ, which he compares to the fruit of some herbs, called by modern botanists *Thlaspi*.

Among later naturalists who have noticed the Cicadæ of foreign countries, are Merian, Margravius, &c. Merian says its tune resembles the sound of a lyre, which is heard at a distance; and that the Dutch, in the plantations of Surinam, (where they are very plenty) call it the Lyre-player. Margravius, in his natural history of Brazil, compares it to the sound of a vibrating wire; he says the tune begins with *gir, guir*, and ends with *sie, sie, sie*. One species is called *Kakkerluk*, in the Indies, perhaps because the sound, emitted by it, may be likened to the pronunciation of that word. Mr. Abbot, an accurate observer and collector of natural history in North America, has discovered four new species of Cicada, one of them nearly equal in size to the Cicada Atrata;* this he says was found in great abundance in one season, in some swampy grounds near Susquehanna river, and was remarkable on account of their loud noise, which, at a little distance, resembled the ringing of *horac bells*.

Some naturalists have supposed that the sound of the Cicada is caused by the flapping of the lamellæ against the abdomen; and others, that it is only a noise occasioned by the rustling of the segments of the body in the contractile motion of that part. Beckman imagines it is caused by beating the body and legs against the wings: he has endeavoured to explain the meaning of ancient authors, and deduces its etymology from that circumstance.

Reaumur and Rœsel have dissected several of the Cicadæ and discovered that the lamellæ cannot have that free motion necessary to cause such a sound, but that "it is produced by some internal organs of the insect, and only issues through the opening, concealed under the lamellæ, as through the mouth of a musical instrument."

In the Boston Magazine for November 1784, is a pleasing, and, with few exceptions, a correct account of the *Cicada septemdecim*, or American locust. The writer, of that article, who is satisfied that it is the same insect described in the New England's Memorial, thinks that Mr. Morton must have been mis-

* Cicada Atrata inhabits China.

taken as to their "eating up the green things;" and, in a good description of the same insect, in Dobson's edition of the *Encyclopædia*, it is said they are not injurious to plants, excepting by the perforations made in the twigs of trees, by the females, to form receptacles for their eggs. Donovan, describing the proboscis of the Cicada, says, "it is used to bore through the bark of trees, to extract the juices, on which it feeds." It is not without hesitation, that we would suggest that this ingenious naturalist appears to be incorrect, in representing the proboscis as the instrument by which this insect forms the nidus for its eggs. There is a separate apparatus for this process, and it is placed at the other extremity of the insect; as is particularly mentioned by the writer of the article in the *Encyclopædia*, and the accuracy of the description, in that particular, is unquestionable.

The writer of the account in the *Boston Magazine*, refers to the appearance of these insects in 1784, and is so well assured of their exact conformity to the period of seventeen years, as to suppose that Secretary Morton has not given the year of their appearance correctly; for if the precise period of seventeen years were observed, they would have appeared in 1786. The residence of that writer is unknown, but it is believed to have been in the County of Bristol, (Massachusetts.) It is certain that the locust appears in different years in different places not very widely separate. Their last appearance at Plymouth was in 1804. They appeared in the same year at Sandwich, and at Falmouth, in the County of Barnstable, and the editor is informed by the Rev. Mr. Lincoln, formerly minister of Falmouth, that an aged man in his parish, who had noted their visits, successively, three or four times, stated the intervals, from his observations, to be precisely seventeen years. According to the Pennsylvania account in the *Encyclopædia*, the locust year is not, uniformly, after equal intervals. The worms produced from the eggs enter the ground and remain entombed, says the writer, fifteen, sixteen or seventeen years, and perhaps undergo various transformations.

If the exact period of seventeen years were observed, the appearance of these insects, at Plymouth, should have been in 1803 instead of 1804. Their visit in that region next before 1633, must have been about the time of the great mortality

among the Indians, and this concurrence it may be presumed, led to the melancholy presage which was announced, by the surviving Indians, to our ancestors. Unhappily the prediction was verified. The circumstance and the name applied to this insect have associated unpleasant impressions with their appearance. in some parts of the country, which repeated observations of their innoxious character and habits have not entirely dispelled.

R. p. 210.

In the Massachusetts Magazine for June 1790, is an account of the College, written by the late Rev. Dr. Belknap, illustrated by an engraving representing all the publick edifices, at that time belonging to the Institution. To Holden Chapel, Hollis, Harvard and Massachusetts Halls, the buildings described in that paper, have been since added, Stoughton, Holworthy and University Halls. The two former are for habitation, by the Students, and the fund, for their erection, was derived from Lotteries granted for the purpose by the Commonwealth. University Hall is built of Chelmsford granite, and is an elegant and very commodious edifice, containing a Chapel, four dining Halls, Kitchens, and several other convenient apartments. The old Chapel in Harvard Hall is handsomely fitted up for the Philosophical Apparatus, the former dining Hall is occupied by an extensive mineralogical collection, and the Library, containing twenty-six thousand volumes, is extended into the Philosophy chamber in that edifice.

At the time Dr. Belknap's account was written, there were only six Professorships, viz. Of Divinity, Hebrew and other Oriental languages, Mathematicks and Natural Philosophy; Anatomy and Surgery, Theory and Practice of Physick. Chemistry and Materia Medica: there have been since added, the Massachusetts Professorship of Natural History, by subscription of liberal individuals; the Boylston Professorship of Rhetoric and Oratory; the Eliot Professorship of Greek Literature, and a Professorship of Law, founded by the late Hon. Isaac Royall. The permanent tutor of Logic, Metaphysics and Ethics is advanced to a Professorship of the two first branches, Ethics being

annexed to a new Professorship, denominated the Alford Professorship of natural Religion, Moral Philosophy and Civil Polity. There are also added, the Dexter Professorship of Sacred Literature, University Professorship of Law, connected with a law school; Smith Professorship of the French and Spanish Languages and Literature, united with a Professorship of Belles Letters, Rumford Professorship, and a Professorship of Mineralogy and Geology. Instruction also is furnished, in the German, Spanish, and Italian languages. In the Medical School are established a Professorship of Obstetrics and Medical Jurisprudence, and a separate Professorship of Materia Medica formerly united with Chemistry. Additional Tutors are occasionally provided in several departments, as circumstances may require, and a Theological School, for the instruction and support of candidates for the Ministry, originating in a liberal subscription for those purposes, is in progress, and gives hopeful promise of all the advantages contemplated by the generous benefactors to the establishment.

In 1810, the Medical Lectures of the University were extended to Boston, for the accommodation of Medical Students; and a handsome building, the property of the University, denominated the Massachusetts Medical College, was soon afterward erected, in Mason Street. It is furnished with spacious lecture rooms for the Professors, and other suitable apartments for a chemical laboratory, museum and library. The cost of this edifice, about 20,000 dollars, was defrayed from a liberal grant, made to the University by the Commonwealth.

The General Government of the University is in a corporation, composed of the President and six fellows, including the Treasurer, and in the Board of Overseers, consisting of the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Council, Senate, Speaker of the House of Representatives, the President of the University *ex officio*, and thirty elected members, fifteen of whom are required to be Ministers of Congregational Churches, and the other fifteen to be laymen.

The immediate, or executive government, denominated the Faculty, is confided to the President, resident Professors and Tutors.

The entire income of the University is employed, for the accomplishment of its important objects, a complete and generous education, the inculcation and advancement of truth, virtue and piety. A letter from the Rev. Dr. Colman to Bishop Kennet, written in 1725, will evince, that in regard to this institution, the *good old path* is pursued, as traced by some of the first minds in our country. Bishop Kennet, it appears, had expressed his regret that Dr. Colman had declined an election to the Presidency of the College. Dr. Colman replies, "As for your catholic spirit which makes your Lordship wish to see me in that honorable station, I hope I have some pretence to it, and I acknowledge it a very good gift and ornament to a person otherwise qualified; but then, my Lord, it is the very spirit of our College, and has been so these forty years past, and if I have ever shone in your Lordship's eyes on that account, here I learned it, thirty years since, and when I visited the famous Universities and private Academies in England, I was even proud of my own humble education here in our Cambridge, because of the Catholic air I had there breathed in."

PRESIDENTS OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

	<i>Death or resignation.</i>
1640 Rev. Henry Dunster,	1654 resigned.
1654 Rev. Charles Chauncy, D. D.	1672
1672 Rev. Leonard Hoar, M. D.	1675 resigned.
1675 Rev. Urian Oakes, A. M.	1681
1682 John Rogers, A. M.	1684
1685 Rev. Increase Mather, D. D.	1701 resigned.
1701 Rev. Samuel Willard, A. M., V. President,	1707
1708 Hon. John Leverett, A. M.	1724
1725 Rev. Benjamin Wardsworth, A. M.	1737
1737 Rev. Edward Holyoke, A. M.	1769
1770 Rev. Samuel Locke, D. D.	1773 resigned.
1774 Rev. Samuel Langdon, D. D.	1780 resigned.
1781 Rev. Joseph Willard, D. D. LL. D.	1804

1806 Rev. Samuel Webber, D. D.

1810

1810 Rev. John Thornton Kirkland, D. D.

S. p. 213.

The *Purchasers or Old Comers*, are thus described in the assignment of the patent. "The said William Bradford and those first Instruments, termed and called in sundry orders upon public record the Purchasers or Old Comers, witnes two in especiall, the one bearing date the third of March 1639, the other in December the first 1640, whereby they are distinguished from other the freemen and Inhabitants of the said Corporation." To the record of December 1, 1640, copied in Hazard's collections. [p. 456,] is subjoined a list of the names of the purchasers; and as it contains the names, which that interesting community, in its infancy, voluntarily distinguished, it is thought proper to insert it in this place.

"Mr. William Bradford,
Mr. Thomas Prence,
Mr. William Brewster,
Mr. Edward Winslow,
Mr. John Alden,
Mr. John Jenney,
Mr. Isaac Allerton,
Capt. Myles Standish,
Mr. William Collyare,
Mr. John Howland,
Manasseh Kempton,
Joseph Rogers,
John Faunce,
Stephen Deane,
Thomas Cushman,
Robte Hickes,
Thomas Morton,
Anthony Annable,
Samuel Fuller,
Francis Eaton,
Francis Cooke,

Edward Dote,
Cutbert Cutbertson,
William Bassett,
Franc. Sprague,
The heirs of John Crackston,
Edward Bumpas,
William Palmer,
Peter Browne,
Henry Sampson,
Experience Michell,
Phillip Delanoy,
John Winslow,
John Shaw,
Josiah Pratt,
John Adams,
Billington,
Phinehas Pratt,
Samuel Fuller,
Clement Briggs,
Abraham Pearse,
Stephen Tracy,

Jonathan Brewster,	Moyses Symonson,
Edward Banges,	George Soule,
Nicholas Snow,	Edward Holman,
Mr. Steven Hopkins,	Mr. James Shirley,
Thomas Clarke,	Mr. Beauchamp,
Raph Wallen,	Mr. Andrews,
William Wright,	Mr. Hatherly,
Elizabeth Warren, (<i>widow.</i>)	Mr. William Thomas, in all 58."

All the names excepting the five last, and that of William Collier, will be found in the list relative to the division of cattle inserted in Note L. of this appendix. Messrs. Collyart, [Collier,] Shirley, Beauchamp, Andrews, Hatherly and Thomas, were friends in England, who united, with Governour Bradford and his associates in hiring the trade of the Colony for six years. [Vide. p. 392.] Those who engaged in that contract were called Purchasers. The eight first purchasers were Governor Bradford, Edward Winslow, Thomas Prince, Miles Standish, William Brewster, John Alden, John Howland, and Isaac Allerton. If the term *purchasers* be applicable to the other persons named in the list it must have been from their subsequent engagement in the contract with those undertakers. Gov. Bradford remarks that the risk was great, and it was doubtless desirable to enlarge the number of the associates. It is probable, however, that there are some on the above list who had no concern in that contract, but were included with the purchasers, in a claim to special consideration, under the appellation of *Old comers*. Mr. Collier came into the country in 1633, and resided in Duxbury. He was chosen an assistant in 1634, and we find his name on the list of assistants in every year afterward, when those officers are mentioned, until 1666. The time of his death is uncertain, it was probably before 1670. Mr. Thomas, came into the country with the Rev. Mr. Blinman, and settled in Marshfield. He was first chosen an assistant in 1642. He died in 1651. His grand-son Nathaniel served as an officer in Philip's war in 1675. The editor has several of his letters written, while on that service, to Governor Josiah Winslow, who was his neighbour, which discover considerable talent and

elucidate, in some material particulars, the military movements at that interesting crisis.—Mr. Hatherly settled in Scituate, about the year 1635. It is mentioned, (p. 101, Note,) that the time of his death has not been ascertained, and that he left no descendants. It has since appeared, from perusing the recitals in an ancient deed, given in 1670, that he was living in 1666, and from other intimations it may be inferred that he died in that year.

It is mentioned, (p. 392,) that Mr. Fuller, who joined in giving bonds to the company of adventurers in England, was not concerned in the bargain for hiring the trade of the Colony. The like remark is applicable to John Jenny. Thomas Prince, who was one of the contractors for the trade, was not one of the obligors to the adventurers.

The three tracts reserved to the Purchasers, or Old Comers, upon the surrender of the patent to the "Body of Freemen," are thus described—"First from the bounds of Yarmouth, three miles to the Eastwards of Naemskeckett, and from Sea to Sea, crosse the neck of land; the second place of a place called Acconquesse (alias Acokens,) which lyeth in the bottome of the bay adjoyning to the west side of Poynt Perrill, and two miles to the western side of the said river, to another place called Acquassent river, which entereth at the western end of Nickatay, and two miles to the eastward thereof, and to extend eight miles up into the Country; the third place from Sowamsett River to Patuckquett River, with Cansumpsett neck, which is the cheefe habitation of the Indians and reserved for them to dwell upon, extending into the land eight miles through the whole breadth thereof."—The first tract is on Cape Cod, comprehending Eastham, Orleans, Brewster, and it is believed Harwich and Chatham. The second tract is in the present towns of Dartmouth and New Bedford.—The third tract was the most valuable, and was not to be quietly enjoyed without a bloody conflict. The description embraces Swanzey and Rehoboth, in Massachusetts, Barrington and Warren, in Rhode Island, and perhaps Bristol.

In connexion with this liberal provision for the "Old Comers," it is proper to insert a copy of a Grant to Peregrine White.

1665. *October.* Prence, Gov.—“In reference unto the request of the King’s Commissioners in the behalf of Lieut. Peregrine White, desiring that the court would accommodate him with a portion of land, in respect that he was the *first* of the English that was born in these parts; and in answer unto his own petition preferred to this Court respecting the premises;

“The Court have granted unto him *two hundred acres of land*, lying and being at the path that goes from Bridgewater to the Bay, adjoining to the Bay line.” *Col. Records Lib. 2.*

T. p. 231.

The following remarks in the Church records, relative to the removal to Nauset, are placed under the year 1644.

“Many having left this place (as is before noted) by reason of the straightness and barrenness of the same, and their finding better accommodation elsewhere, more suitable to their ends and minds, and sundry others still, upon every occasion, desiring their dismissal, the Church began seriously to think, whether it were not better jointly to remove to some other place, than to be thus weakened, and, as it were, insensibly dissolved. Many meetings and much consultation was held thereabout, and divers men’s minds and opinions; some were still for staying together, in this place (where Plymouth was then seated) alleging men might here live, if they would be content with their condition, and that it was not for want or necessity so much that they removed, as to enrich themselves. Others were resolute upon removal, and so signified that here they could not stay, that if the Church did not remove, they must, insomuch as many were swayed, rather than there should be a dissolution, to condescend to a removal, if a fit place could be found, that might more conveniently and comfortably receive the whole, with such accession of others as might come to them, for their better strength and subsistence, with some such like cautions and limitations; So, with the aforesaid provisoes, a greater part consented to a removal to a place called Nausett which had been superficially viewed, and the good will of the purchasers obtained, to whom it belonged,

with some addition thereto from the Court; But now they began to see their error, that they had already given away the best and most commodious places to others, and now wanted them themselves, for this place was about fifty miles from hence, and at an outside of the country, remote from all society; also, that it would prove too strait, that it would not be competent to receive the Body, much less to be capable of any addition or increase, so that, at least, in a short time, they should be worse there than they were now here. These with sundry other like considerations and inconveniences made them change their resolutions, yet such as were before resolved upon removal, took advantage of this agreement and went on notwithstanding, neither could the rest hinder them, they having made some beginning— And thus was this poor Church left like an ancient mother, grown old and forsaken of her children, though not in their affections, yet, in regard of their bodily presence and personal helpfulness, her ancient members, being most of them, worn away by death, and those of latter times being like children translated into other families, and she like a widow left alone to trust in God. Thus she who had made many rich became herself poor.” [*Plym. Chh. Rec. Lib. I. 45.*]

U. p. 249.

We have a full and interesting history of the “Praying Indians,” as they were called, in Daniel Gookins’ Historical Collections. He was appointed “ruler over the praying Indians in the colony of Massachusetts” in 1656. His collections were compiled in 1674, from which, the following abstract of the Situation and Number of the Praying Indians, at that Period, in Massachusetts and Plymouth Colonies, is taken.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Natick, [10 miles N. W. from Dedham,]	145
Punkapaog, [Stoughton,]	60
Hassanemesitt, [Grafton,]	60
Okommakamesit, [Marlborough,]	50
Wamesit, [Tewksbury,]	75
Nashobah, [Littleton,]	50

Magunkaguog, [Hopkinton,]	55
Manchage, [Oxford,]	60
Chabanaskongkomun, [Dudley,]	45
Maanexit, [near Woodstock,*]	100
Quantisset, [S. E. part of Woodstock,]	100
Wabquissit, [S. W. part of Woodstock,]	150
Packachoog, [Worcester, Ward,]	100
Waeuntug, [Uxbridge,]	50
	1,100

In **PLYMOUTH COLONY**, from information given to Mr. Gookin, by Mr. Richard Bourn, of Sandwich.

At Meeshawn near the head of the Cape, and at Punon- akanit, [Wellfleet,]	72
Potanumaquut—Nausett, [Eastham,]	44
Manamoyick, [Chatham,]	71
Sawkattuket, [Harwich,] Nohaquassit, [Yarmouth,] Mat- akeest [partly in Yarmouth, partly in Barnstable,] Wee- quakut, [Barnstable,]	122
Mashpee, and several places adjacent,	117
Pispogutt, Wawayontat, [Wareham,] Sokenes, [Falmouth,]	36
Cotuhtikut, [part of Middleborough commonly called Titicut,] Assoowamsoo, [Middleborough,]	35
	497

All the places in Plymouth Colony, are in the County of Barnstable, excepting the one in Wareham, and the two last on the list. Mashpee, is a well known Territory, between Barnstable and Falmouth, reserved by grant from the Colony, for the *South Sea Indians*, at the solicitation of Mr. Bourn. He was a man of that discernment," says the Rev. Mr. Hawley, "that he considered it as vain, to propagate Christian knowledge among any people without a territory where they might remain in peace, from generation to generation, and not be ousted." The other places, mentioned in Mr. Bourn's list, in connexion with Mashpee are near that plantation.—Among the Indians on his list, one hundred and

* Woodstock was, at that time, in Massachusetts.

† The same with Mattachiest, in Note, p. 87.

forty-two, he says, could read the Indian language, nine could read English, and seventy-two had been taught to write.

The Rev. John Cotton of Plymouth presents a brief account to Mr. Gookin of the praying Indians in Plymouth Colony, not mentioned by Mr. Bourne; but gives no numbers, excepting of those at Kittaumut, which were about forty. Kittaumut, we are informed, in a note in the Massachusetts Historical Collections; Vol. II, is part of Sandwich, near Buzzard's Bay. It is apprehended that there is a mistake in this indication, and that Monamet Ponds in the southerly part of Plymouth, is the place intended. Mr. Cotton also mentions his preaching occasionally to the Indians at Namasseket [Middleborough.] From Mr. Mayhew and Mr. Cotton, Mr. Gookin received an account of the praying Indians on Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard, at that period. The number at Nantucket was about three hundred. There were two churches on Martha's Vineyard, and one on Chappaquiddick. Mr. Mayhew does not give the number of persons, but says there were three hundred families at least, sixty of which were at Chappaquiddick.

Aggregate Number of Praying Indians in 1674.

In Massachusetts,	1100
In Plymouth Colony, by Mr. Bourne's account	497
Mr. Cotton's account	40—530
On Nantucket,	300
On Martha's Vineyard and Chappaquiddick, 300 families estimated at five in a family	1500
	3430
To which may be added by conjecture, under Mr. Cotton's care not enumerated	170
	3600

But few of the number were admitted to communion. Churches were formed by Mr. Eliot, Mr. Mayhew, and Mr. Bourne, with great solemnity, but the strictness, of examination, and terms of communion were such, that the number of members of the Indian Churches was inconsiderable. Mr. Mayhew

observes, however, of his Indians, "There are near fifty in fall and [I] suppose rightly in communion. There are ten Indian preachers of good knowledge and holy conversation; seven Jurisdictions, and six meetings every Lord's day. In every Jurisdiction the heads are worshippers. The whole holds forth the face of Christianity; how sincere I know not."

The calamitous war with Philip, Sachem of Pokanoket, commenced the year after the date of this statement. The Indians generally became objects of aversion or distrust. The praying Indians of Natick and other places in Massachusetts were transported to Deer Island in Boston harbour. Some of the same description in Plymouth, particularly those at Namasakesett, (Pembroke) were conveyed to Clarke's Island, at the mouth of Plymouth harbour. Good Mr. Eliot, and Mr. Gookin suffered reproaches and insult, for endeavouring to repress the popular rage against their cherished pupils, while the Indians of this denomination were exposed to jealousy and occasional revenge from their fellow countrymen engaged in the war. "The stated places of worship, in Massachusetts, since the war," says Mr. Eliot, in a letter to Mr Boyle; "are contracted to four; Natick, Ponkipog, Wameset, and Chachaubunkkakowok." [Hist. Coll. III, 185.] The place last named is supposed to be Chabanakongkomum, [Dudley] above mentioned. In Plymouth Colony, however, the operation of the war on the condition of the praying Indians was not so severe. Their principal seats were in a part of the country, where the Indians took no part with Philip, but, on the contrary, enlisted in considerable numbers against him. The Indians on the Cape were, with few exceptions, peaceable, and friendly to the English, from their first arrival, and when, in the course of the war, the number of prisoners became embarrassing, they were sent to some of the Cape towns, or to Martha's Vineyard, for safe keeping. By Governor Hinckley's account, taken in 1685, and sent to the Society in England for the propagation of the Gospel, it appears that the number of christianized Indians, in that Colony, had increased. He thus designates their places of residence and their numbers.

“ At Paumet, Billingsgate and Nausett alias Eastham,	264
An Indian called great Tom, being their teacher at Nausett, but are at present destitute of a teacher, at Paumet, since the death of Potanumatack, a prudent sober man, who is much lamented by them and desire a supply. We mean to encourage one; these being the Indians Mr. Treat of Eastham is wont to help sometimes, on the week days.	
At Manamoyt, [Chatham] where Indian Nicholas is teacher	115
At Saquetucket [Harwich or Brewster] and Nobscusset [Yarmouth] where Indian Manasseh is teacher,	121
At Mattakeese [Barnstable—Yarmouth] Jeremy Robin teacher,	70
At Skauton [Sandwich] Simon Wicket teacher,	51
At Mashpee, Shanks teacher, to whom Mr. Bourn did officiate whilst he was living,	141
At Suckanessett, Old John teacher,	72
At Monamet, [Sandwich, on Buzzard's bay] where Charles was teacher, and Mr. Thomas Tupper is helpful to them in teaching of them,	110
At Salt water pond [Parish of Monamet Ponds, Plymouth] where Mr. Cotton sometimes helps them, on the week days, and Will Skipping on the Lord's days,	90
At Namaskett and Titicut [Middleborough] Stephen, teacher,	70
At Namatakeeset [Pembroke] where they need and desire a teacher,	40
At which two places Mr. Cotton also helps them on the week days.	
At Cooxisset, [Dartmouth] Indian John Teacher	85
At Cooxet [part of Dartmouth or of little Compton] Isaac, Teacher,	120
At Sokenot [Little Compton] Mr. Sam sometimes teaches, now George	90

Besides boys and girls under 12 years old, which are supposed to be more than three times so many.”

Gov. Hutchinson copies this list [Hist. Mass. Vol I. 313] but omits the names of the Teachers and the observations which Governor Hinckley subjoins to his summary, from which is the following extract.

" Their manner is not to accept any to be praying Indians or Christians, but such as do, before some of their magistrates or civil rulers, renounce their former heathenish manners, and give up themselves to be praying Indians; neither do they choose any other than such to bear any office among them. They keep their courts in several places, living so far distant one from another. Especially the four chief places often desire my help amongst them, at their courts, and often do appeal from the sentence of the Indian Judges, to my determination, in which they quietly rest, whereby I have much trouble and expense of time among them, but if God please to bless my endeavours to bring them to more civility and Christianity, I shall account my time and pains well spent. A great obstruction whereunto is the great appetite many of the young generation have after strong liquors, and the covetous evil humour of sundry of our English, in furnishing them therewith, notwithstanding all the court orders and means used to prohibit the same."

The above report by Gov. Hinckley was among the Rev. Mr. Prince's papers, deposited in an apartment of the Old South Church, but now in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, with many other valuable ancient papers and books, selected by permission, from Mr. Prince's collections.

In 1698, the Rev. Grindal Rawson and Rev. Samuel Danforth, visited the several plantations of Indians in Massachusetts and made their report to the Commissioners of the Society for propagating the Gospel in New England. Their report is published in the tenth volume of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

They report thirty distinct assemblies or congregations of Indians which they visited, having thirty-six teachers, five schoolmasters and twenty rulers. The whole number of Indians under this arrangement was at that time 3080, reckoning five to a family where families only are mentioned without spe-

cification of numbers. Of this aggregate number, 1290 were in that part of Massachusetts formerly Plymouth Colony, 1585 were on the Islands of Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, Chappaquiddick, and the Elizabeth Islands, and 205 only in the other parts of Massachusetts, which exhibited 1100 in Mr. Gookin's account in 1674. All the rulers, teachers, and schoolmasters, above enumerated, were Indians. The teachers, however, were occasionally assisted by some of the neighbouring clergy; and several of the teachers were employed as schoolmasters. The Commissioners give a favourable description, generally, of the improvement and manners of the Indians, of their sobriety, decent dress, and proficiency in reading and writing. These accounts would seem to promise a successful result in reward of the exertions of the Society, and the benevolent contributions of those who co-operated with them. But the race of Indians, in this scene of religious and intellectual attentions in their behalf, has gradually declined and is now nearly extinct. In Natick there were in 1753, twenty-five families. In 1763, there were 37 Indians only at that settlement, not including probably wandering Indians. In 1797, the Rev. Mr. Badger, estimated the number of "clear blooded Indians," at that place, to be about twenty. In 1764, there were eight or ten families in Grafton; and in 1792, there were about thirty persons of Indian blood in that place, according to the account given in the first volume of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, published in that year. These Indians, with those at Natick and a few at Stoughton, were all the remains at that time existing of the numerous tribes who formerly inhabited the old colony of Massachusetts.

In the three counties, formerly constituting Plymouth Colony, the number of Indians, in 1763, was as follows.

Plymouth County,	223
Barnstable County,	515
Bristol County,	167
	905

On the Island of Nantucket at the same period, 358
 Martha's Vineyard, 313—671

1536

In that year, in October, a fatal sickness commenced among the Indians at Nantucket, and before the end of January, between 260 and 270 persons had been seized with it, of whom six men and nine women only recovered. [*Hutch. Hist. Mass.* I. 35.] Zaccheus Macy, in his communication, to the Historical Society, in 1792, says that 322 died of the distemper and that the Indians on the island were, at the time of his writing, reduced to four males and sixteen females. The intelligent gentleman, who furnished the Historical Society with information from Martha's Vineyard, observes, that about the time of the last enumeration, 1763, the Indians began to intermarry with negroes. All the subsequent estimations, therefore, give us the numbers of a mixed race, with a predominance, however, in a collective view, of the Indian appearance and character. Of this mixed race, at Martha's Vineyard, there were about 440 persons in 1792, and the reporters observe, that there is an increase in numbers, and improvement in temperance and industry. In Bristol county the race is nearly extinct. There were only about thirty-three left in 1792. In Plymouth, there are a few at herring pond, near Sandwich line, who are in the charge of the Rev. Mr. Fish, Missionary at Mashpee. In Barnstable County very few are to be found excepting at Mashpee. In 1792, there were about 80 families at that plantation, consisting principally of a mixed race; not more than 40 or 50 among them being pure Indians. At this plantation a Missionary (Rev. Mr. Fish) is established from funds given to Harvard College, in trust for Missionary purposes, early in the last century, by the Rev. Daniel Williams, D. D. an eminent dissenting clergyman in London. Mr. Frederick Baylies is employed at Martha's Vineyard, on the same foundation, and by additional aids from the Massachusetts Society for propagating the Gospel, instructs the destitute Indians at Charleston and other places

in Rhode Island. In all the Indian settlements, visited by Mr. Baylies, he is particularly careful to establish schools, frequently employing some of the Indian women as school dames, and has exhibited to the boards, to whom he is responsible, many acceptable specimens of the improvement of his pupils, especially in writing.

Time and experience have confirmed the truth of Mr. Bourn's observation in reference to the Mashpee reserve. The remains of the Indian tribes existing in Massachusetts, are found at Gayhead, Chappaquiddick, and at Mashpee, where such reserves were made, and have been maintained. Some sense of independence and self-respect is cherished by such establishments, which, in a degree, rescues the humble race from despondency and decay. The employment of the more intelligent and energetic Indians as rulers was particularly grateful to them. At the Courts in Barnstable County, formerly, we often heard from our aged friends and from the Vineyard gentlemen, amusing anecdotes of Indian rulers. The following warrant is recollected, which was issued by one of those magistrates directed to an Indian Constable, and will not suffer in comparison with our more verbose forms.

I Hihoudi,
You Peter Waterman,
Jeremy Wicket;
Quick you take him,
Fast you hold him,
Straight you bring him,
Before me, Hihoudi.

V. p. 261.

Lands were granted at Greensharbor, in 1637, to Edward Winslow and others, not with a view of creating a separate town. "To prevent any further scattering from this place, of the town of Plymouth, and weakening of the same, it was thought best to give out some good farms to special persons, who would promise to live at Plymouth, and likely to be helpful to the church or Commonwealth and so to tie the lands to

Plymouth, as farms for the same, and there they might keep their cattle and tillage, by some servants, and retain their dwellings here, and so some special lands were granted at a place called Green's harbour, where no allotments had been in the former division." [*Chh. Rec.*] It was soon found, that the conditions were impracticable or very inconvenient. Not long afterward, speaking of Marshfield, a name substituted for *Green's harbour*; there is this remark in the record, "This Church of Marshfield was begun and afterwards carried on by the help and assistance, under God, of Mr. Edward Winslow, who at the first procured several Welsh gentlemen of good note thither, with Mr. Blinman, a godly able minister." Some dissensions are then mentioned, with Mr. Blinman's departure for Cape Ann, the procurement of Edward Bulkley as his successor, and afterwards Mr. Arnold, on Mr. Bulkley's removal to Concord. Dr. Isaac Winslow, a worthy descendant of Gov. Winslow, mentioned in the note p. 261, as owning and occupying the family seat, is since deceased at an advanced age, leaving a son and three daughters. Mr. Isaac Winslow of Boston, has a genealogical table of the family from the first Gov. Winslow, especially of the descendants of the Boston branch derived from John Winslow a brother of Edward.

W. p. 304.

Governor Hutchinson remarks, that the report of the Committees, on the line between the Colonies, was accepted by the General Court of Massachusetts, and ordered to be recorded, and that there is no doubt the General Court of Plymouth accepted it likewise. In the last suggestion it is believed he is incorrect. It is not to be found on the Plymouth Colony records. *Accord Pond*, affords evidence, by its name, that there was an amicable agreement in regard to the line from its commencement at Cohasset, to that place. The western portion of the line, and especially the true station authorised by the expressions in the Massachusetts charter, "three miles South-erly of the southernmost part of Charles River," were more questionable. But all umbrage on the subject has long since ceased, and it would be an useless curiosity to revive the par-

particulars of a dispute of this description. The General Assembly of Connecticut, in 1665, passed a resolve, the spirit of which it may often be discreet for States and citizens to imitate. "That all acts of the authority of New Haven, which have been uncomfortable to Connecticut, should never be called to an account, but be buried in perpetual oblivion." [*Trumb. Hist. Conn. I. 287.*]

X. p. 314.

"The propositions made by his Majesty's Commissioners, to the General Court of [New Plymouth] held at Plymouth, for the jurisdiction of New Plymouth, the 22d of February, Anno Dom. 1665.

1. That all householders, inhabiting in the Colony, take the oath of allegiance, and the administration of justice be in his Majesty's name.

2. That all men of competent estates and civil conversation, though of different judgments, may be admitted to be freemen, and have liberty to choose and to be chosen officers, both civil and military.

3. That all men and women, of orthodox opinions, competent knowledge and civil lives, (not scandalous) may be admitted to the Sacrament of the Lord's supper, and their children to baptism, if they desire it; either by admitting them into the congregations already gathered; or permitting them to gather themselves into such congregations, where they may have the benefit of the sacraments.

4. That all laws and expressions in laws, derogatory to his majesty, if any such have been made in these late troublesome times, may be repealed, altered and taken off from the file.

The Court's Answer.

1. To the first, we consent, it having been the practice of this court, in the first place, to insert in the oath of fidelity required of every householder, to be truly loyal to our sovereign Lord the king, his heirs and successors. Also to administer all acts of justice in his Majesty's name.

2. To the second we also consent, it having been our constant practice to admit men of competent estates and civil con-

versation, though of different judgments; yet being otherwise orthodox, to be freemen, and to have liberty to choose and be chosen officers both civil and military.

3. To the third we cannot but acknowledge it to be a high favour from God and from our sovereign, that we may enjoy our consciences in point of God's worship; the main end of transplanting ourselves into these remote corners of the earth, and should most heartily rejoice, that all our neighbours so qualified as in that proposition, would adjoin themselves to our societies according to the order of the gospel, for enjoyment of the sacraments to themselves and theirs, but if, through different persuasions respecting church government, it cannot be obtained, we would not deny a liberty to any according to the proposition, that are truly conscientious, although differing from us, especially where his majesty commands it, they maintaining an able preaching ministry for the carrying on of public sabbath worship, which, we doubt not, is his Majesty's intent, and withdraw not from paying their due proportions of maintenance to such ministers, as are orderly settled in the places, where they live, until they have one of their own, and that in such places, as are capable of maintaining the worship of God in two distinct congregations. We being greatly encouraged by his Majesty's gracious expressions in his letter to us, and your honour's further assurance of his Royal purpose, to continue our liberties, that where places, by reason of our paucity and poverty, are incapable of two, it is not intended, that such congregations as are already in being should be rooted out, but their liberties preserved, there being other places to accommodate men of different persuasions in societies by themselves, which, by our known experience, tends most to the preservation of peace and charity.

4. To the fourth, we consent that all laws and expressions in laws derogatory to his majesty, if any ~~are~~ shall be formed amongst us, which at present we are not conscious of, shall be repealed, altered and taken off from the file.

By order of the General Court

For the Jurisdiction of New Plymouth,

Per me, *Matthew Milson* SECRETARY.

The league between the four colonies was not with any intent, that ever we heard of, to cast off our dependence upon England, a thing which we utterly abhor, intreating your honors to believe us, for we speak in the presence of God.

New Plymouth, May 4th, 1665.

The Court doth order Mr. Constant Southworth, treasurer, to present these to his Majesty's commissioners at Boston with all convenient speed."

The above propositions and answers are inserted, with some variations, in Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, Vol. I. 214. The remark respecting the union between the Colonies, is not on the Colony records, it was inserted at the close of the copy delivered to the Commissioners, in conformity to a letter from the Commissioners, written to Governour Prince, after they had left Plymouth. [See Hist. Coll. V. 192.] The conditions expressed in the answer to the third proposition, appeared so reasonable to the Commissioners, that when they afterward met the General Assembly of Connecticut, in April 1665, their third proposition is qualified, in substance, conformably to the Plymouth reply.

Y. 345.

The age of Thomas Southworth, is incorrectly stated in note p. 323, at 63 instead of 53. In note, p. 103, it is said that Thomas Southworth and his elder brother Constant came with their mother Alice, who arrived at Plymouth in 1623, and was soon afterwards married to Governour Bradford. There is reason to believe that this conjecture is unfounded, and that they did not come into the country until about 1629 or 1630, when their names first appear on the records. There was an early attachment, it is said, between Governour Bradford and Mrs. Southworth, and that their marriage was prevented by her parents, on account of the inferior cir-

cumstances or rank of Mr. Bradford. The lady whom he married was drowned in Cape Cod harbour, December, 1620. The Governour, by letters to England, made overtures of marriage to Mrs. Southworth, who was then a widow. The offer was accepted, and with generous resolution she embarked in the ship *Ann*, in 1622, to meet her intended partner, who she well knew could not leave his responsible station in the infant settlement. Her two sons by her first husband. (Southworth) were then very young, Thomas the youngest being only about six years old. *Constant Southworth* was some years older. He was admitted a freeman in 1637, and in the same year married a daughter of Mr. Collier. His name is on the list of volunteers to go against the Pequots, in 1637. He was elected deputy for Duxbury in 1649, and in several other years; was Colony Treasurer from 1659 to 1678, and often one of the assistants. In the early part of Philip's war, he was Commissary General and accompanied the army. The famous partizan officer, Benjamin Church, married his daughter Alice, and two of his sons frequently accompanied Church in his expeditions. He died in 1678, leaving three sons, Edward, Nathaniel and William; three married daughters, Mercy Freeman, Alice Church, and Mary Alden; and two daughters, Elizabeth and Priscilla, unmarried.

Thomas Southworth, who married his cousin Elizabeth Reyner, lived at Plymouth. He was often an assistant and there are marked testimonials, on record, of his worth, and of the public esteem which he enjoyed. "He was a great pillar in the Church, in the days of blessed Mr. Reyner, after the death of elder Brewster, whose name is here very precious and ever will be so. When the church had agitations about the choice of a ruling elder, this Mr. Southworth was judged by many of the church a very suitable man for that place, yet it was wisely foreseen by Governour Bradford, that the necessity of the Commonwealth would doubtless call for the improvement of his talent in the magistracy." [Plym. Chh. Records.]—According to their opinion, as communicated in answer to questions from Massachusetts in 1632, no person might be a civil magistrate and a ruling elder at the same time. [Winthrop's Journal 38.] Governour Bradford's suggestion was respected, and Thomas Cush-

man, son of their zealous and early friend Robert Cushman, was elected to succeed elder Brewster. Thomas Southworth, was one of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, for Plymouth, in 1659, and the three years next following, and again in 1664. When Mr. Prince was commissioned, in 1654, to establish an orderly government among the inhabitants on the Kennebeck, Mr. Southworth was appointed Governour of the territory on that river, placed by the Parliament under Plymouth Jurisdiction—His only child, Elizabeth, married Lieut. Joseph Howland, son of John Howland, one of the *Old comers*.

Z. p. 345.

Thomas Prince arrived at Plymouth, in 1621, in the ship Fortune. He was then about 21 years old. In 1624, he married Patience Brewster, a daughter of Elder Brewster. In 1632, we find his name on the tax list of that year. He is rated at 1*l*. 7*s*. 0*d*, the highest rate on the list being 3*l*. 11*s*. Mr. Collier's.—The next highest is Mr. Winslow, 2*l*. 5*s*. 0*d*. The lowest is 9 shillings, and more than half of the whole number, eighty-nine in all, stand at that sum. In 1634, he was chosen Governour. Edward Winslow had served in the office the year before, in accommodation to Gov. Bradford, who wished to be excused, at least for a time. In 1635, Bradford was again Governour.—In this year, Mr. Prince, being a widower, married Mary Collier, a daughter of Mr. William Collier. About this time, it is presumed, he removed to Duxbury, where Mr. Collier resided. His residence at Plymouth is indicated by a reference in the records to his lot on "*High Street*." In 1637, he was particularly active in raising a corps of volunteers to assist Connecticut and Massachusetts in the expedition against the Pequots. The names of thirty-nine, who offered to go on that service, are on record, and the document has the following caption. "The names of the soldiers that willingly offer themselves to go upon the service with Mr. Prince and the Lieut. voluntaries."—By "the Lieutenant," William Holmes, is intended, afterwards promoted to the rank of Major, who became a freeman of the Colony in 1633, and was appointed in 1635, with

Captain Standish, to teach the Train bands of Plymouth and Duxbury the use of arms, for which they were to receive from the public treasury, 20*l.* each per annum. In 1638, Mr. Prince again served in the office of Governour. It appears, that he accepted the appointment with reluctance, and made it a condition, that he should not be obliged to remove from Duxbury.—During his administration, in that year, a severe and exemplary act of justice was exhibited, in the condemnation and execution of three of the colonists, for robbing and murdering an Indian. Before Mr. Prince was again elected Governour, in 1657, he had removed to Eastham. The law required the Governour to reside at Plymouth, but there was dispensation in his favour, until 1665, when he removed to Plymouth, and took possession of a place provided for him by the Government, which he occupied until his death. It was nearly two miles from the centre of the town, on the road toward Boston, and was called *Plain Dealing*. The Governour's salary was at the same time established at 50*l.* per annum, and it was stipulated that he should receive that sum annually so long as he should be Governour of the Colony. The course of Mr. Prince's administration did not correspond with the favourable auspices, which Secretary Morton notices at its commencement. The "uncomfortable jars" were soon revived and continued with augmented animosities. The harsh measures, which were pursued against sectaries, especially against the Quakers, not only harassed and exasperated the sufferers, but disaffected not a few in the Colony, who indulged no disposition to embrace the opinions which it was the object of the government to suppress. Among these were Mr. Hatherly and Mr. Cudworth, who were both left out of the magistracy, in 1658, after serving one year only in connexion with Mr. Prince. The Governour had also to encounter many difficulties with the Indians. The demise of Massasoset, the accession of Alexander and his early death, under circumstances tending to excitement and apprehension, the movement of Philip, and various decisive measures, which it was necessary to take with the Squaw Sachem of Pocasset and with the heads of other Indian tribes, required continual vigilance and attention. The visit from the Royal Commissioners

must also have been embarrassing. Amidst those various perplexities, the government appears to have pursued a firm and steady course, in promotion of the substantial interests of their constituents; and if we except the lamented departure, in some instances, from a just and prudent toleration on religious topics, a critical and candid examination of Governour Prince's conduct, during the sixteen successive years of his magistracy, will, it is believed, find little to reprehend, and much to approve. He is particularly to be applauded for his solicitous attention to the establishment of schools in the Colony, of a higher grade than had before existed. In the inventory of his library, after his decease, 44 school books are mentioned. "This shews he was a scholar," says the late John Cetton, Esq, in a manuscript note in the editor's possession. The inference, however, is somewhat questionable when other indications are considered. But though he was not a scholar, he was impressed with the importance of learning in the community, and indulged a generous zeal in promoting literary acquisitions which he did not himself possess. The *school books*, in his possession, were probably for distribution, in the schools, which he succeeded in having established, at the public expense, in Plymouth, in Rehoboth, in Taunton, and we believe in Duxbury.

Governour Prince was often employed in other public services of importance. He was of the council of war, Treasurer of the Colony at one time, and often a Commissioner of the United Colonies. His integrity was proverbial, and his industry, energy and sound judgment, rendered him a very useful instrument in conducting the affairs of the rising colony, and would, we think, have made him a respectable public character in a far more considerable community. During his administration there were two revisals of the laws of the Colony. One in 1658, the other in 1671. The last digest it appears, was published in 1672, but no copy of it is now to be found. Among the good deeds of Governour Prince, we should not omit to mention his exertions for a fixed and competent support of an able and learned ministry. In many of the scattered settlements, a disposition prevailed to neglect this important branch of public instruction, or to employ incompetent lay exhorters, practices which he uniformly discountenanced.

In the fifth lot of the document, in note L of this appendix, we find the name of Rebecca Prince, and in the 10th lot, the name of Thomas Prince. These were probably the children of Governour Prince by his first wife, though we are unable to explain, why the son was not placed in the same lot with his parents. By his second wife, who survived him a few years, he had seven daughters. All his daughters were married before his decease.

1646 Rebecca to Edmund Freeman, jun.

Mary to ——— Tracy, of Duxbury.

Elizabeth to Arthur Howland, Do.

Judith to Isaac Barker, Do.

Hannah to Nathaniel Mayo, of Eastham.

Jane to Mark Snow, Do.

Anna - Sarah to Jeremiah Howes, of Yarmouth.

Mercy to John Freeman, of Eastham.

His wife, Mary, survived him, and died at Plymouth about the year 1676. His son Thomas went to England, where he married, and died young, leaving a widow and a daughter, named Susanna. Her Grandfather mentions her, in his will, and among his papers, which have been preserved, are several affectionate family letters to and from his relatives in England. In 1670, having requested his grandchild to come and unite herself to his family, he received letters from her mother, and from Thomas Edmonson, of London, whose wife she then was, expressing their gratitude for his kind remembrances, but communicating their unwillingness to part with the child. There is also a letter from Susanna Prince to her Grandfather, and a copy of his reply, giving affectionate and discreet advice for her future conduct in life, and mentioning the inclosing of a piece of gold as a token of his love, and in return for some specimen of her proficiency in needle work which she had transmitted to him. There is also a letter from his cousin, John Prince, of Andover, giving some account of the family. The Governour's father and grandfather, it appears, were of Lechlade, in the County of Gloucester.

The Plymouth Church records, in expressing Mr. Prince's character and his amiable and pleasant conversation, depart

from their usual course, by an indication of his personal appearance, from which it may be supposed that it was peculiarly dignified and striking. "He was excellently qualified for the office of Governour. He had a countenance full of majesty, and therein, as well as otherwise, was a terror to evil doers."

The Governour uniformly wrote his name, *Prence*. The common orthography is supposed to be in conformity to the pronunciation.

Gov. Prince having left no male descendants, those of the name in Boston, and in other parts of the country, are not of that family; many of them are known to be descended from John Prince of Hull, who came from England in 1632 and died at Hull, in 1676. Rev. Mr. Prince, the chronologist, a grandson of John Prince, remarks, that Governour Prince highly valued him and used to call him his cousin.

A. A. p. 346.

The choice of a new Governour, and especially of such a character as Josiah Winslow, after the death of Mr. Prince, would seem to have afforded a favourable opportunity to compose the animosities with Philip, which had perplexed the former administration; but it appears, that Philip had imbibed an invincible prejudice against Mr. Winslow, as is mentioned by Mr. Hubbard, in his Narrative of the war. The same writer, in his General History of New-England, explains the ground and origin of that hostile feeling. Speaking of the finesse by which, in the infancy of the colony, advantageous use was made of the emulation between Hobamak and Squanto, the Governour seeming to favour one, and Captain Standish the other, "the same rule," he adds, "was taken, of late, by the Governour of Plymouth, and him that immediately preceded, with reference to Philip and Josiah, two sagamores within their jurisdiction, for when Governour Prince only seemed more to favour Philip, as the other gentlemen, at that time commander in chief of all the military forces, did Josiah, Philip conceived such a mortal hatred against the honourable gentleman, that it, at last, raised this fatal war and ended in the ruin of himself and his people

and all those engaged with him therein." It was a questionable and hazardous expedient, and does not well comport with that plain dealing and guileless simplicity, which we are disposed to consider as predominant features in the character and conduct of our ancestors. Standish, from his military studies and habits, might have been successful in stratagem, but Governour Bradford must have been somewhat awkward in Ulyssean policy. "The Indians," says Mr. Heckewelder, "have a keen eye, by looking at a person they think they can judge of his friendly or unfriendly disposition to their race.—When they believe a person to be their friend, they will do every thing in their power to oblige him, it being their principle that good ought always to be rewarded with good. They prefer a plain man, simple in his manners and who treats them with frankness and familiarity." [Hist. Acc. of the Ind. Nations. 179.]

If the system suggested by Mr. Hubbard were pursued, Major Winslow was probably regarded by Philip as a declared enemy, and Governour Prince as a foe in disguise. It is certain, from whatever cause, that the Indians had become, generally, exceedingly distrustful of their English neighbours. Canonius, the old Sachem of Narragansett, "often repeated this word" says Roger Williams, "*Wunnawmayen* Englishman, if the Englishman speak true, if he mean truly, then shall I go to my grave in peace, and hope that the English and my posterity will live in love and peace together."

The proceedings with Alexander may be supposed to have been another ground of resentment, which excited Philip to revenge. Since the note on that affair, (page 287,) was written, the editor has become possessed of another account of the transaction which places it in a different point of view. The Rev. J. Cotton of Plymouth, in a letter to Rev. Increase Mather, gives the following statement. "Major Bradford confidently assures me, that in the narrative *de Alexandro*, there are many mistakes, and fearing lest you should, through misinformation, print some mistakes on that subject, from his mouth I this write. Reports being here, that Alexander was plotting or privy to plots against the English, authority sent to him to come down. He came not. Whereupon Major Winslow was sent to fetch him. Major Bradford

with some others went with him. At Munponset River, (a place not many miles hence,) they found Alexander with about 8 men, and sundry squaws. He was there about getting canoes. He and his men were at breakfast under their shelter, their guns being without. They saw the English coming, but continued eating; and Mr. Winslow telling their business, Alexander, freely and readily, without the least hesitancy, consented to go, giving his reason why he came not to the court before, viz. because he waited for Captain Willet's return from the Dutch, being desirous to speak with him first. They brought him to Mr. Collier's, that day, and Governour Prince living remote, at Eastham, those few magistrates, who were at hand, issued the matter peaceably, and immediately dismissed Alexander to return home, which he did, part of the way; but in 2 or 3 days after he returned and went to Major Winslow's house, intending thence to travel into the Bay and so home, but at the Major's house he was taken very sick, and was, by water, conveyed to Mr. Bradford's, and thence carried upon the shoulders of his men to Tetchquet river, and thence, in canoes, home, and about two or three days after died. After this there was great solemnity in the congratulating Philip's coming to the crown, by the flocking of multitudes of Indians from all parts, Sachems and others, with great feasting and rejoicing, at Mount Hope. This caused the Governour to call a meeting on purpose, Aug. 6th, to do as the memorial saith."

This account, being received so directly from one of the party, which accompanied Major Winslow, is probably entirely correct. The *raging passion* and the *indignant fretting of the proud Sachem*, producing a mortal fever, disappear, and we may suppose, that the explanations, made to Philip at the meeting which he attended at the Governour's request, were satisfactory.

The operation of the policy, adopted by Governour Prince and Mr. Winslow, was, perhaps, overrated by Mr. Hubbard. More weighty and influential considerations than mere personal dislike, probably influenced the sagacious and high minded chief, and if his deliberations with Annawon, Uncompan, Tisquiquin and Nimrod, could have been known, we should,

doubtless, have found that high topics of national interest were discussed, such as Secretary Morton informs us were suggested by the Pequots to the Narragansetts, in 1637. Philip must have contemplated, with solicitude, the rapid growth of the new people, whom his father had admitted into his domain. Their settlements had advanced to his very doors. He was indignant at the humble condition to which he and his people were reduced, being regarded as subjects, and his whole conduct gives plain indications of a settled purpose to resort to arms for regaining and securing his independence, or to take a desperate revenge. On the other hand his antagonists contended, that they enjoyed nothing but what they had honestly acquired, by fair contract, and for acceptable considerations. Possessions, which were the fruit of so much toil, danger and expense, could not be abandoned. Interests of the utmost importance to them and their posterity were at stake, and, with a deep and solemn conviction of imperious duty, they resolved to maintain their ground, and with manly firmness to meet the arduous conflict which they could not avoid. In all their controversies with Philip, they appear to have proceeded with great caution and deliberation. In 1671, when threatening preparations were made at Mount Hope, accompanied with repeated insults, finding their own overtures were insufficient to avert the impending mischief, they solicited the advice and mediation of Massachusetts, there being, at that time, from some misunderstanding, a suspension of the colonial union. A compromise was then effected, and Philip entered into a new Treaty at Taunton; acknowledging his aggressions, and agreeing to a surrender of his arms. When the war commenced in June, 1675, there had been a modification of the articles of the union and the meetings of the Commissioners were resumed. A full statement was made by Plymouth Colony of the conduct of Philip and of their proceedings, and the Commissioners deliberately and unanimously resolved, that the war, on their part, was just and necessary. Rhode Island also, though not a member of the Union, gave manifest indications, that they concurred with their fellow countrymen in this conclusion, and their prompt and efficacious aid was frequently afforded in very critical stages of the contest.

It would be impracticable, in the compass of a note, to give a full summary of the events of that memorable war. They are abundantly detailed in the minute narratives of Hubbard, Mather, and Church. Several letters, written at that distressing crisis, have been preserved, and give an impressive view of the appalling struggle which our ancestors sustained, and of the sentiments and feelings which prevailed.

The following letter from Nathaniel Thomas, an officer with the Plymouth troops, was written the day after the commencement of hostilities. It was addressed to Governour Winslow.

Right honoured Sir,

Swansey, June 25, 1675.

A particular account of our arrival here, and the sad providence that, yesterday, fell out at Mattapoissett, of the loss of 6 men, without doubt, you have from our General, [Cudworth] which may, I desire, be an inducement to you to strengthen our towns, that are weakened by our departure, since the Indians do their exploits on out houses and straggled persons. It is reported credibly that Uncas sent Philip 20 men last Saturday sen'night, and Nanno sent him word that if he sent him 6 English heads, then all the Indians in the country were engaged against the English.* Sir, our men are all well and cheerful, through God's mercy. Send not your southward men to us, but secure yourselves with them. Send us help from the Massachusetts, which is our General's and Counsel's advice.

*The general adherence of Uncas to the Colonists, is well known, and we have seen no intimations, but in this letter, of his disposition to co-operate with Philip. By Nanno we may suppose Nanuntenuo, *alias* Canonechet, son of Miantonomoh, to have been intended. He was, at that time, head Sachem of the Narragansetts, and the message, which he is here reported to have sent to Philip, corresponds with his character. It was by this chief, commanding a party of Indians, that Captain Pierce of Scituate, and his company were cut off, in March 1676, near Patucket river. Nanuntenuo, soon after this exploit, fell a victim to the vigorous pursuit made by Captain Denison, of Stonington, and his company. After he was seized by a Pequot of Denison's party, Robert Stanton, a youthful soldier of the company, came up to him and asked several questions. "You too much child, no understand matters of war," said the Sachem, "Let your Captain come, him I will answer." When informed, that it was determined to put him to death, he said, "He liked it well; that he should die before his heart was soft, or he had spoken any thing unworthy himself" [*Hubbard's Narrative.*]

The forces here are dispersed to several places of the town and some to Rehoboth, which this day we intend to draw into a narrower compass, which when we have done, we intend to lay ambushment in the Indian's walks, to cut off their men, as they do to cut off our men, for their present motion is to send forth scouts to lie in our walks, to make discovery and cut off our men. I pray, sir, remember me to my wife, and bid her be of good cheer; the Lord is our keeper. Our soldiers here desire to be remembered to their wives and friends. Will Ford is well of his ague. Thus desiring your Honour's and all God's people's prayers for us, I remain,

Your Honour's servant,

NATHANIEL THOMAS.

Philip did not long retain his station at Mount Hope, after the commencement of the war. Our historians, excepting Church, say he was driven from his post. Church contends, that his retreat over the river to the Tiverton side, was from policy. The settlements, in that vicinity, soon felt the disastrous effects of the new station which he assumed. Dartmouth was assaulted and so laid waste, that it was abandoned. Swanzey and Taunton had before experienced the fury of the enemy. In Swanzey, particularly, nearly half the town was consumed. On the 10th of July, John Tomson of Middleborough addresses a letter to Governour Winslow, giving an account of the attack upon that place. The town's "Court of Guard" as it was termed, stationed at a mill, was overawed by numbers, while scattered parties of the Indians ranged about the settlement and burnt down most of the houses. "Towards night," says sergeant Tomson, "they returned to the top of Tispaquin's hill with great triumph and rejoicing, with a shout; but we firing our long gun at them, they speedily went away. Honoured Sir, my request to you is, that you would be pleased to send sufficient guard, to guard our women and children, with what goods is left, down to Plymouth, for we are every day liable to be a prey to our enemies, neither can we subsist here any longer by reason of want of provision and shot, for we are almost out of them both. And now our rye and other English grain, which is very considerable, is all laid open to creatures to destroy, the rye being al-

most ripe, which had we some considerable help to preserve, we possibly might save a considerable quantity of it, which might be to the saving of our lives; therefore my earnest request to your honour is, that, if it be possible, with as much brevity as may be, to relieve us. Sir, I conceive this place to be a very convenient place to keep a garrison, by reason the enemy makes Asawamsett and Daniel's Island his place of retreat, as we conceive. Sir, I doubt not, but if God by his providence spare my life till I see you, I shall be able to give a good account of our acting to your satisfaction." To such extremity was a settlement, only about 12 or 14 miles distant from Plymouth, reduced, in a few days after the commencement of hostilities. The vigorous operations of the combined forces from Plymouth and Massachusetts, under Captains Henchman and Cudworth, compelled Philip to concentrate his forces, and, about the first of August, he had the address to cross Taunton river, unobserved, with his party and with Wetamo, Squaw Sachem of Pocasset, who adhered to him. He escaped his pursuers, to their great mortification, and repaired westward, to direct the operations of the Nipmucks and other tribes, which had engaged in his cause. After Philip's escape from Pocasset, the settlements in Plymouth Colony had a temporary respite from the depredations of the enemy, and Massachusetts became the scene of suffering. The Nipmuck Indians, before Philip had joined them, made an attack upon Mendon, and Capt. Hutchinson, who was sent to relieve Brookfield, fell into an ambuscade, lost eight of his company, and was himself mortally wounded. Brookfield was immediately afterward attacked, and all the houses were consumed, excepting one, to which the inhabitants had retired, and in which, while making a seemingly desperate resistance, they were providentially relieved by the arrival of Major Willard with forty-eight dragoons. On the 5th of August, Philip and his party joined the Nipmuck Indians, near Brookfield. The Indians on Connecticut river, near Hadley, Hatfield and Deerfield, and those upon Merrimack river, commenced hostilities about the same time. Deerfield was burnt about the 1st of September, and, soon afterwards, Hadley was attacked. Captain Lathrop, with a fine company of young men

from the county of Essex, were cut off, only seven or eight of the company escaping. Captain Mosely, who was stationed at Deerfield, came too late to prevent this disaster, and after maintaining an arduous conflict, for several hours, by the timely assistance of Major Treat, of Connecticut, with a party of Mohegan Indians, the enemy were put to flight.

On the 19th of October, the enemy came, with great force, upon Hatfield, but were repelled by the united troops of Massachusetts and Connecticut. After this attempt Philip's Indians retired to Narragansett, and the western settlements were relieved; suffering only some slight inconveniences and alarms from a few straggling parties, in November. In the beginning of that month, Captain Henschman was despatched, with a party from Boston against the Indians at Hassanamisco (Grafton) and in that vicinity, but returned without performing any essential service. In the winter was the celebrated expedition against the Narragansetts, who had given indications of their favourable disposition to Philip. The active co-operation of that powerful tribe, notwithstanding their treaty in July and subsequent pacific assurances, was seriously apprehended. A thousand men were raised by order of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, for this important service. Six companies from Massachusetts, with a troop of horse, were under the command of Major Appleton. Five companies from Connecticut were led by Major Treat. The two companies from Plymouth were under Major Bradford. Governour Winslow was commander in Chief, by appointment from the Commissioners. The preparation and the march of this army, the most considerable that New England had then seen, were most prompt and persevering. In the depth of a severe winter, they advanced to the attack of a formidable foe posted in a strong position, in his wilderness retreat. The attack on the enemy's fort, December 19th (O. S.), was completely successful. It was a counterpart to the memorable exploit against the Pequots, forty years before, by the men of Connecticut. A day of horrible conflagration and slaughter inflicted a blow, from which the Narragansett nation never recovered. Seven hundred of their fighting men fell in the action, and it was

computed that, at least three hundred more died of their wounds and from the hardships which ensued. Such are the numbers given by Hubbard, in his Narrative, derived from the confession of Potock, one of the Indian chiefs, afterwards taken at Rhode Island, and put to death in Boston. It was a dear-bought victory to the assailants. Five brave captains were slain in the action; Davenport of Boston, son of Captain Richard Davenport, distinguished in the Pequot war, Johnson of Roxbury, Gardner of Salem, Gallop of New London, and Marshall of Windsor. Captain Sieley of Stratford, was mortally wounded, and lived but a few days after the fight. The whole loss sustained by the assailants, was eighty five killed, and about one hundred and fifty wounded. Among the wounded were Major Bradford and Captain Church, of Plymouth Colony, and Lieut. Upham of Massachusetts. The latter died of his wound some months afterward. J. Gorham of Barnstable, captain of one of Plymouth Colony companies, was seized with a fever, and died on the expedition. Church was a volunteer, and, as he informs us in his narrative, rode in the general's guard. He pointedly condemns the burning the wigwams in the fort, which would have afforded a comfortable shelter to the troops. For want of such accommodation, they were compelled, immediately after the action, to perform a severe march of sixteen or eighteen miles, in a cold and stormy night, to Wickford. This march was peculiarly distressing to the wounded men. Many of them died on the way, or soon afterward. None of them could have their wounds dressed until they arrived at head quarters. In a note to Church's narrative, the estimate of the number killed, especially of the Indians, is considerably less than is stated by other historians. "About 50 English were killed in the action, and died of their wounds, and about 300 or 350 Indians, men, and women, and children, were killed, and as many more captured." The scene of action is thus described—"The place of the fort was an elevated ground or piece of upland, of perhaps 3 or 4 acres, in the middle of a hideous swamp, about seven miles due west from Narragansett south-ferry."* A letter from

* This indication is in a note, in the edition of Church's narrative printed at Newport, in 1772. It is apprehended there is an error in the statement of the distance of the fort from the South ferry. *Seventeen* miles, instead of *seven*, would be more consistent with the accounts given of the marches of the army, by co-temporary historians.

Major Bradford to Rev. Mr. Cotton, of Plymouth, furnishes some interesting particulars respecting the army and the enemy, after the action. It has never been published, and having connexion with an important portion of our history, we give it entire.

Newport, Rhode Island, 20 Jan. 75.

Much honored and dear Sir,

After my kind respects presented unto you and to Mrs. Cotton, this is briefly to inform you some occurrency of news, which I am partly engaged to you—and knowing you and my friends desire information from the army.

This day we heard from them by certain intelligence.—The general is, for the present, well in health, but has had a touch of his old distemper—the treaty with the Indians comes to nothing—they did but dally with them—the next day after the fight, they took their flight up into the country, and a few staid, pretending a treaty; their flight is sudden up into the country to Philip, as the report is; the reason of their flight is, for fear of English setting upon them again, and also because their powder was spent, and their great loss, having lost three hundred men, beside women and children, about three-score of the Wompannecks lost, about fifty wounded—when they told their number, were left 13 hundred men, but little powder left—this will make a lingering war—the troopers find abundance of corn in their barns, bring it in daily.—Providence men brought in an Englishman, taken with the Indians in driving away cattle, brought him to the head quarters, who confest he ran away to the Narragansetts some weeks ago, belonging to Petesquanset, and carrying powder to the Indians, was in the fight at the fort, shot at the English. He certifies of their flight, and what number were slain,—and that they were counselled by one of Philip's chief captains to go to him, where they shall want nothing—to secure their wives and children, and then go down upon the English, which counsel they have taken, it seemeth. Ninicrast has sent down divers messengers to the general, pretending love to the English, and that his men have buried the English that were slain at the fort, which were about twenty-four, and desires for every one he buried a charge of powder; he certifieth also of the enemy's flight.—The general intendeth to march out tomorrow with the army, to see whether it be so with the enemy:

and if it be so, then to march to Ninicrast's fort, to see if he be such a friend as he pretends; and to see what Narragansetts he shelters, and to see what guns he hath taken, that were left at the fort, and to demand why some of his men help the Narragansetts, for he had some threescore there, whereof fifteen of them were slain. Mr. Fitch's praying Indians ran all away, running all to the Narragansetts, and some of them slain in the fight. Certainly the enemy are brought to great strength, the Lord only knows what yet may be the meaning of their flight. He would have us look yet further from the arm of flesh only to himself. He hath many ways to humble us; and if it be still by a lingering war, the will of the Lord be done; and yet it may be for our good in the end; for he hath many ways to destroy these heathen, as undoubtedly he will.

The Englishman that was taken had his doom yesterday—to be hanged and quartered, which was done effectually. The general intends to draw off his army, if he finds it true the enemy to be withdrawn; and after he hath saluted Ninnicrast, which I hope will be to effect, for his pretended friendship. Sir, as concerning myself, I find some strength returning, and hopes of future returning to see you, with the rest of my dear friends; however, I do desire to rest in God's good pleasure. Sir, many other things I could acquaint you with; but my weakness yet requires me to break off, committing you and yours to the protection of the Most High. I could willingly hear from you, and whether God's hand in the signs be abated with you, which the Lord grant, if it be his blessed will. Here are many sick upon the island, and many die. Our wounded men, some die still, and some on the mending hand. I am much afraid for John Wright,* and Serg. Wetherlye of Scituate. I pray Sir, be my continual remembrance to the Throne of grace. So I rest with my dear respects to Elder Cushman, and all my good friends.

Your most assured friend,

WM. BRADFORD.

It was conjectured that Philip was in the Narragansett fort, at the time of the action. Mr. Dudley in his letter to Governour Leverett, published by Hutchinson, says, "Philip was seen by

Of Plymouth

one credibly informing us, under a strong guard."—But according to Major Bradford, Philip was at a distance *up in the country*, to whom the remnant of the vanquished foe retired. His particular position during the winter seems not to have been ascertained. According to the report of two spies, friendly Indians, sent out from Boston in January, he was near Albany. It was conjectured that he was attempting to gain over the Mohawks, but probably his excursion in that direction was to procure a supply of ammunition. He doubtless directed the movements of the united tribes of Narragansetts, Wampenoags, Nipmugs, and Quabaogs, whose principal residence, being hunted from their usual abodes, was, in the wilderness, in the neighborhood of Wachusett. They were driven to desperation, and only relieved from starving by a remarkable and unusual thaw in January, which enabled them to come at the ground nuts. The report of James Quannapaug, one of the spies, who returned January 24th, is copied in the 6th vol. of the Historical Collections. Job, his companion, separated from him, and did not return until February 9th. On the 10th of February, Thomas Hinkley, Esq. then at Boston, thus writes to his wife."

"Dear heart,

note, Since my last inclosed which I broke up to signify to thee, not to expect my coming home this week, Job, the other Indian spy sent out, as I have before is, last night, returned to Capt. Gookins, and informs, that the Narragansetts are got to the Quabaug Indians, 400 of them, and 300 of the other, as I mentioned heretofore, and informs that 6 of Eames his children, the owner of the house burnt at Sudbury, of which before, are with the Indians, and the Indians intend marching this day, 300 of them, to fall upon Lancaster, alias Nashaway. Post was sent by Capt. Gookins and Mr. Danforth last night, midnight, for 80 troopers and 40 foot, thereabout and at Marlborough, to hasten to Lancaster, for their relief, but whether they came time enough is not yet known. A post came thence to day, to inform, a great many Indians were at Lancaster bridge; and the smoke of some houses fired there appeared to him as he came. The good Lord fit us for his pleasure."

Lancaster was a flourishing settlement of about thirty years standing, and contained between fifty and sixty families. The greater part of the houses were consumed, and among the rest, the house of the minister, Mr. Rowlandson, though "garrisoned with a competent number of inhabitants." His wife and children were made prisoners, he being absent. Twenty other women and children who had taken refuge in that house were also captured. Eight men, fighting in their defence were killed. About forty-two persons in all, says Hubbard, were slain or captured.* This disaster was immediately followed by some less considerable attacks on other towns in the vicinity, Marlborough, Sudbury and Chelmsford. But within ten days after the destruction of Lancaster, a still bolder attack was made on Medfield, where was a garrison of one hundred and sixty soldiers.† Nearly half the town was burnt, and eighteen of the inhabitants were killed or mortally wounded. The loss of property, according to Mr. Hubbard's estimate, was more than two thousand pounds. The party which made this attack is supposed to be different from that which assaulted Lancaster. The latter remained in Massachusetts. The other body was on their way to Plymouth colony. Pursuing their course, they burned seven houses and barns in Weymouth. This, says Gov. Hutchinson, was their nearest approach to Boston; but, in Hubbard's map, Woburn, still nearer to Boston, is indicated as one of the places which suffered from Indian depredations. Plymouth colony, feeble in its best estate, made preparations to meet the approaching storm. A fort of considerable strength was erected in Plymouth, in February, on a commanding height in the centre of the town. In remoter parts families were placed in garrison houses.—One of those houses, Mr. Clark's, at Eel river, was attacked on the 12th of March. Eleven persons belonging to two families, were killed, and the house was consumed. This is supposed to have been done by some of the Indians in the vicinity, headed by

* The one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the destruction of Lancaster was noticed in that town, in February last, with appropriate observances. An interesting and impressive discourse was delivered by Isaac Goodwin, Esq. of Worcester.

† Mather says two or three hundred

Totoson, who was well acquainted with the house, and had received many kindnesses from the occupants. The main body which came from Massachusetts, took another direction towards Narragansett. On the 17th of March, Warwick in Rhode Island, was burnt, which was followed by the destruction of the other houses, beyond that place, in the Narragansett country. On the 26th of March, Captain Peirce of Scituate, who had been sent out with a strong company, fifty English, and twenty Indians, to meet the enemy, was surprised by a powerful force, near Pawtucket river. A desperate resistance was maintained. Captain Peirce, with almost all his company, were killed in the action. Two days afterwards, Rehoboth, a flourishing settlement in the vicinity was attacked and suffered severely, and on the next day, thirty houses were burnt in Providence. A letter written, at this distressing crisis, by the Council of War at Plymouth, to Governour Leverett, gives a view of the posture of affairs, of the expected operations of the enemy, and of the measures projected in defence. The copy, found among the Winslow papers, has no date, but we may infer from the contents that it was written on the 31st of March, 1676.

“Honorable Sir,

Your letter dated the 30 of March (76) we received, whereby we perceive, as an addition to our afflictions and cause of our further humiliation, that, in this day of great rebuke, no help is to be expected from our lovers and friends; the good Lord help us the more to look aright to himself, who only is the hope of his people in the time of trouble.

Another messenger, with sad tidings, at the heels of the other, from Rehoboth; that town in flames, 28 instant, soon after day light, the enemy having fetch't away sundry cattle the day before, and lay all night in their hearing, burnt 60 houses and barns, appeared very numerous, and continued lurking thereabout after it. We are in daily expectation to hear of the like destruction in our other towns of Taunton and Bridgewater, and so from town to town, having no strength of our own left sufficient to withstand him, unless the Lord himself be pleased graciously to take the opportunity of our extremity to appear to save us from

being overwhelmed by their rage, breaking in like a flood now upon us; and whether it may not reach quickly to your frontiers next us, if the help of our joint forces (through God's blessing) improved, give not check to him, is with yourselves to consider. There seems reason to judge, that the body of the enemy is thereabout, by the number of them seen about Narragansett, and the certain intelligence given by some of our souldiers, (that escaped from that slaughter made on Capt. Peirce and his men) of their hearing the noise and crying of women and children, a good space distant from the fight, and the intelligence of one of ours, from Rhode Island, on Tuesday last, that Governor Andrews* advised the Governor there by letter, that, by English and Indian information, he understood Philip, with some hundreds, were gone down to those parts, and, as he supposed, might be thereabout, by that time his advice might come thither. Besides, some of our Indians, that escaped from that last fight, say, that the Indians calling to them, to know what they were, who answered them from Plimouth, the enemy saying, then, they would knock them on the head, told them, also, when inquired by ours, who they were, that they were some both of Nepmugga, Coweeset, Seconet, &c. and we leave it to your consideration, whether a party staying behind about Hadley, to alarm yours there, and giving out, that their head quarters were above Deerfield, might not be their policy, to keep your forces there, whilst they slip't down with the larger body, to do spoyle to our towns and yours, one after another, with their greater security, as to their meeting with any considerable resistance from you or us, where, also, they are likely to have more provisions, than is to be had in the woods. We humbly take leave, also, to propose to your riper judgment, whether it may not be a good expedient for about 600 of the united forces, constantly, to prosecute the enemy, at least for about a month or six weeks at a time, thereby to provoke the Sachems to keep their men, about them, from scattering abroad, and, in the mean while, strengthening our out towns, as you mention in yours, together with a party of men, in each frontier town, to lye for ambuscades, in the likeliest places of the

* Sir Edmund Andros, then Governor of New York.

enemy's advance for provision or plunder, whereby they may see it is like to cost them dear, and so, being kept from our cattle and provision, and the sea-side, they may be exposed to starve, or go quite away, or be disposed for a peace. The good Lord guide and preserve you and all his poor people, up and down this wilderness, fitting us for our further trial, and teaching us to sanctify his name, through all our changes, as the issue of all may be most for his own glory and our best good.

Postscript. Our Council have agreed to raise 300 men, with some of our Indians, to oppose the enemy, though our towns will, in the mean time, be left extremely weak, and unable to defend themselves, though in several garrisons, if the enemy should come down on them. If God should please to put it into your hearts to join with us, with some of your forces, it may do well. However, if we be left to be a prey in their hand, God is righteous, yet we desire to trust in his name, when all other help fails, and remain your friends and humble servants."

The incursions of the enemy were so vigorous and successful, about this time, in Massachusetts, that Plymouth colony would have no relief from that quarter. Troops were despatched from Boston early in March, under an able officer, Major Savage, for the relief of the towns on Connecticut river. They were joined by a force from Connecticut at Brookfield. In the face of this opposition, such was the determined spirit of the savages, that they attacked Northampton on the 14th of March, though fortified and full of soldiers, burned ten buildings, houses and barns, and killed four men and one woman, before they were repulsed. On the 13th of March, Groton was attacked, and but four houses left standing; and on the same day, that Capt. Peirce was cut off, March 26th, Marlborough was almost wholly consumed, and the few houses which remained were deserted. The three hundred men ordered by the Council of War at Plymouth, to be raised, as mentioned in their letter to Governour Leverett, were to be furnished by several towns in the Colony in the following proportions.—

Plymouth,	30
Duxbury,	16

Bridgewater,	16
Scituate,	50
Taunton,	30
Sandwich,	28
Yarmouth,	26
Barnstable,	30
Marshfield,	26
Rehoboth,	30
Eastham,	18
	300*

These troops, with one hundred Indians, it was directed, should be "ready to go forth" by the eleventh of April. On that day the Council of War met at Plymouth, and a sad record is left of their proceedings. Many of the soldiers who were pressed, "came not forth; especially, Scituate and Sandwich proved very deficient." From this cause, it is declared, there was "a frustration of the whole design, so as they did not agree to go forward in any thing, for public good, either for help or defence of Rehoboth, then in straits, or otherwise for offence of our enemies, or defence from them, but rather brake up in a division and confusion, only a few of the southern soldiers went out of their way, as far as Middleborough, and returned home." With no regular army in motion, a defence against the incursions of an enraged enemy, encouraged by success, was left, for a time, to the several towns. The women, and children were placed in garrisons, and strict injunctions were given for continual watch and ward, in every town, with minute directions to the military officers, to keep the men under their command in readiness for any emergency. A few days previous to the confused meeting of the Council of War, above mentioned, a small party made an attack on Bridgewater, but were repelled by the inhabitants. About this time, a generous and cordial invitation was given by a Committee from the Cape Towns, Barnstable, Sandwich, Yarmouth and Eastham, to the inhabitants of Rehoboth, Taunton, and Bridgewater, to come to them with their moveable property, for preservation and safety. Suitable

* Dartmouth, Middleborough, and Swanzy, not named, being broken up by the war.

answers were returned, with grateful acknowledgment for that expression of kindness, but declining the proposal. "We bless God," say the Committee of Taunton, (Richard Williams, Walter Deane, G. Macy, and William Harvey,) "that he hath given us so much room in your hearts, that you so freely tender to us a part with you in your houses, fields and provisions, at such a time, when the Lord is threatening us with bereavement of our own. It much comforteth us, in this day of darkness and distress, we shall want no succour you are able to afford us. We therefore return you all serious thanks for your sincere and abundant love, beseeching the Lord still to continue and increase your peace and ability and promptness to relieve the distressed, in this evil day. Nevertheless, upon our serious and mature deliberation upon, and consideration of your great offer, we cannot, at present, comply with a motion to remove and quit our places, and leave our habitations to be a desolation, and that because we fear we should in so doing be wanting to the name of God, and the interest of Christ, in this place, and bewray much diffidence and cowardice, and give the adversary occasion to triumph over us, to the reproach of that great and fearful name of God that is called on us." The answer from Rehoboth, containing similar sentiments of holy resolution, is signed by Thomas Cooper, Sen., Peter Burt, Sen., Henry Smith, Daniel Smith, and Nicholas Peck, in behalf of the inhabitants. The reply in behalf of Bridgewater, was given by Rev. James Keith.

The replies from Taunton and Rehoboth offer, also, several prudential reasons against the removal, such as the danger of being observed by the enemy and cut off, and the quantity of English grain which they had in the ground, which, with the hope of supply from a plentiful early harvest, they were unwilling to abandon.

On the 17th of April, Rev. Mr. Walley, of Barnstable, thus writes to Rev. Mr. Cotton of Plymouth. "I am greatly afflicted in my spirit, to see the danger we are in, and the confusion and sad disorder that we are fallen into. New England must prepare themselves for what the Lord will lay upon them. We had some hope the Indians with us might have proved faithful, and been a help to us, but they see our weakness and confusion, and take

great notice of the severity shewed towards the squaws, that are sent away, some of them much grieved, others, I fear, provoked. They say, we cannot so easily raise armies as send away poor squaws. The country about us is troubled and grieved at this action, accounting it very unseasonable, and what the effect will be, God only knows. I could wish our honoured Governour would send for them back, and return them to their friends. It would be very acceptable to this part of the country, for there is much discontent about it. Some fear we have paid dear for former acts of severity; and how dear we may yet pay, God knoweth." It is not known what was the particular measure, to which Mr. Walley has reference. He appears to have had in view some proceeding, which had been then recently adopted. When speaking of "former acts of severity," he probably had reference to the exceptionable course pursued, in the summer of the preceding year, with a body of Indians, who surrendered on terms offered by Captain Eels and Ralph Earl; the former commanding at Ponagansett garrison. "Had their promises to the Indians been kept," says Church, "and the Indians fairly treated, it is probable that most, if not all the Indians in those parts had soon followed the example of those who had now surrendered themselves, which would have been a good step towards finishing the war. But in spite of all that Captain Eels, Church, or Earl could say, argue, plead, or beg, somebody else, that had more power in their hands, improved it, and, without any regard to the promises made them on their surrendering themselves, they were carried to Plymouth, there sold, and transported out of the country, being about eight score persons."

The war was then, perhaps, in its most critical stage. The Narragansetts, though they had lost their head Sachem, Canonchet,* and were checked and harrassed by the Connecticut troops, under Captain Denison, were in considerable force on the frontiers of Plymouth colony. Philip, with his main body, was in the forests about Brookfield, and between that place and Connecticut River. "Possibly," says Mr. Hubbard, "they had some hope of driving all the country before them to the sea-coast." On the

* See Note, p. 429.

18th of April, they made a vigorous attack on Sudbury, having the day before, burned the deserted houses in Marlborough. Captain Wadsworth of Milton, with his company of fifty men, fighting bravely in defence of Sudbury, were overpowered. The commander, two of his officers, and nearly all his men were slain. A monument was afterward erected to their memory by President Wadsworth, son of Captain Wadsworth, at the place of their interment, near Sudbury causeway. About the 20th of April, Scituate was attacked. The assailants were bravely met by the inhabitants, but considerable loss was sustained. A return of the whole loss of this town, in the war, was made in the following winter, to Governor Winslow, on which a summary of the contents is indorsed in his hand writing—"13 dwelling houses burned, to which there also appertayned barns, and one saw-mill—six heads of families killed; besides many others killed and made cripples, and some families of the eastern people, that have been great sufferers. In all 32 families, wherein are about 132 persons." The six widows mentioned are Mrs. Peirce, Russell, Savory, Witcome, Pratt, and Blackmore. May 8th, seventeen buildings, houses and barns, were burned at Bridgewater; and on the 11th, eleven houses and five barns in Plymouth. Two days afterward, seven houses, and two barns were burned in that town, also the houses in Middleborough, remaining from the destruction at that place in the preceding year. Plymouth township, it should be observed, was then of wide extent, embracing Plimton, Carver, Kingston, and part of Halifax and Wareham. The buildings, thus consumed, were probably those that were in the most exposed situations; perhaps some of them deserted. The state of things about this time, in that region, appears in the following letter, written by Governour Winslow to Mr. Hinckley and Mr. Freeman.

Gentlemen,

May 23, '76.

My respects, &c.

It pleaseth the only wise and most just God, still to keep us under his rod. Since the damage done at Bridgewater and Plymouth, which you have knowledge of, the enemy have killed four stout men at Taunton, and carried away two lusty youths; Mr. Henry Andrews, James Bell, Sergeant Phillips, and the two

youths, all at one time, being securely planting two or 'three miles from the town; the other one, Edward Bobit, killed at another place; the four men leaving 32 fatherless children, in a hard world. The last Tuesday, they killed a man, between Hingham and Conahasset, and then fell to burning, beginning with Mr. Tilden's saw-mill, and Jos. Sylvester's house, and barn, but not a man from Scituate would stir to prevent them; but 14 of our town's warders marched up to Jos. Barstow's, and had sight of a party of the enemy at Will Barstow's, but, being unhappily discovered by them also, they ran away, leaving some horses and cattle they were about to carry away, and those houses at that time secured from the flames. Taunton and Bridgewater men are confident that they are planting about Assawamsit or Dartmouth, and did, yesterday, track 200 of them, as they judge, toward Assawamset. This far I had begun to write to Mr. Freeman and yourself, intending to have sent it, this day, by Mr. Arnold, who was to come this day to you by sea, to obtain ten or twelve of your Indians, for each of these towns, for whom we will provide arms, ammunition and provision: that was put off, at the present, by sight of yours to Captain Bradford, declaring that you should be upon your march, the beginning of this week, with a party of English and what Indians you could make out: but we do earnestly request you both, and Mr. Bourne, to provide us sixty Indians, that may be confided in, as speedily as possible, and send them to us, or upon word from you, we will send for them. The people in all our towns (Scituate excepted) are very desirous to be ranging after the enemy. Last Satur[day], about 4, afternoon, a second post came from Bridgewater, informing, that they had, that morning, discovered a party of about 100. of the enemy at Teeticut, very busy killing cattle and horses, as if they intended some stay there, and that Taunton and Bridgewater had agreed, in the night to advance towards them, with about sixty men, to fight them in the morning, and requested a few men from us, if possible; the warning was very short, but we obtained from Plymouth, Duxbury, and Marshfield, about forty smart lads, and sent to Bridgewater that night, but have not, as yet, heard of or from them; they know of your intended march, and if they miss of those Indians, may very probably meet and join with yours to

range towards Dartmouth and Succonet. The Lord go with them, and prosper them. Mr. Church will inform you what I have written to Rhode Island. He tells me of an Indian woman brought in last Saturday by Sepit, who seems to be sent with lies and flams to affright and corrupt your Indians; if so, I wish you would order him to put her to death, but leave it to your discretion, if you should think there may be inconveniency in it, but let her not have opportunity of returning to the enemy. I would gladly improve the present heat that is in our men, before the weather grows too hot, in sending out fresh parties, as soon as these come home, if there be good employment for them.

Pray present my hearty respects to Mr. Walley, on whom we depend for the Election Sermon. So commending you and all our concerns to God, rest—[name torn off.]

The remissness in Scituate, of which Governour Winslow complains, cannot now be explained. The town had suffered severely, and the inhabitants might have been in circumstances, not known to Governour Winslow, at the time of his writing, which would, in their opinion, render it justifiable or expedient to confine themselves, on that occasion, to their own immediate defence. The two historians, Hubbard and Mather, commend their intrepidity on a former occasion, when part of their town was destroyed. The want of some regular force, to move with promptitude and alacrity under a systematic direction, must have been sensibly felt. The exertions, however, of the several towns are not to be depreciated. There was an energy and self devotion, which we cannot too much admire, and the struggles of those infant corporations, at that appalling season, display the wise organization of that branch of the New England institutions. We cannot look, however, without emotion, upon the perilous condition, at that moment, of this germ of all that has since expanded into strength and beauty, all which we now enjoy and admire. The destruction that had been made in Plymouth Colony, and the inadequate means of defence, which they possessed, against an infuriated and unmerciful foe, seemed to threaten all the settlements in that little community with total ruin, and, had they stood alone, the miserable inhabitants would appear to be destined to repeat

the pathetic and unavailing lamentation of the ancient Britons, under the desolating incursions of the Picts; "The barbarians drive us to the sea, the sea throws us back on the swords of the barbarians, so that we have nothing left us but the wretched choice of being either drowned or butchered." Happily they were intimately connected with neighbours of greater strength, whose military operations had served, not only for their own immediate defence, but to diminish the pressure of the common enemy upon Plymouth Colony. At the close of the month of April, a strong force, several companies of horse and foot, were raised in Massachusetts and sent westward, to check the incursions of the enemy; the foot under the command of Captains Sill, Cutler, and Holbrook; the horse under Captain Brattle. Captains Prentice and Henschman, Commanders-in-chief. These troops, with the aid of the Connecticut troops, mostly mounted on horses, and with the active co-operation of the inhabitants of the western towns, were so completely successful in various operations, which cannot here be given in detail, that Massachusetts, about the time of Governor Winslow's letter, was able to furnish some direct assistance to their distressed neighbours. Captain Brattle with his troop of horse, was despatched to Rehoboth; and, with him, or soon afterward, a company of foot, under Captain Mosely, repaired to the same station. Encouraged by this timely aid, and by the reviving spirit of resolution among their own people, as expressed in Governor Winslow's letter, the government of Plymouth made a renewed effort to raise an army. The General Court met on the first Tuesday in June, and voted to raise a small force of 200 men, one third Indians, to be placed under the command of Major Bradford, and to be ready to march on the 21st of that month. At this critical period, Captain Church visited Plymouth, having been at Rhode Island, with his family, since the beginning of March. He was received with a hearty welcome, and his reply gives a lively manifestation of the distressed state of the country, and the impressions which were made on his susceptible and generous heart. He was glad to find them alive, he said, for he had seen so many fires and smokes towards their side of the country, since he left them, that he could scarce eat or sleep with any comfort, for fear they had all been de-

stroyed. For all travelling, he adds, was stopped, and no news had passed for a long time together. He cheerfully offered his services, and it was agreed that he should return to the Island, and see what men he could muster among the fugitives from Swanzev, Dartmouth, and other places in that vicinity. He repaired forthwith to Falmouth, and thence proceeded by water. On his way he stopped, with some hazard, at Seconet, and opened a negotiation with Awashonks, squaw Sachem at that place, to detach her and her people from Philip. This negotiation was resumed with success, after a visit to Rhode Island, so that by the time Major Bradford arrived with his troops at Pocasset (Tiverton), towards the close of the month, Awashonks was prepared to surrender, and with about ninety of her people proceeded, according to agreement, towards Sandwich, upon terms of submission.

At this time the operations in Massachusetts had been so successful, that the inhabitants, having had many days of humiliation and fasting, were disposed to rejoice, and the 29th day of June was observed as a day of thanksgiving. Plymouth was not yet prepared for an observance of this description, though the surrender of Awashonks, and a small number of prisoners, taken by Major Bradford, in a successful skirmish, and sent to Plymouth, about the same time, revived their hopes and animated their exertions. Undoubted intelligence was now received of Philip's return to the neighbourhood of Mount Hope. The combination which he had maintained, with so much vigour and address, was dissolved. The military operations against him had been so active and unremitted, from Massachusetts and Connecticut, that the number of his adherents was diminished, and those who remained were exhausted and disheartened. They had been prevented from planting and from preparing their usual supply of fish, from the rivers, in the proper season. The dismal prospect before them, in the ensuing winter, and their multiplied privations and sufferings produced discontent and division, and at length a dissolution of the confederacy.

The Narragansetts, the Wampanoags, and the Pocasset Indians returned to their accustomed places of abode. The Nipmugs and the River Indians went, some of them, far westward, others

northwardly, to join the tribes on the Merrimack. Philip must have returned with gloomy apprehensions, but the neighbouring settlements, which had not been destroyed, soon had evidence that his activity and enterprize were undiminished. In the month of July, successive companies of Indians surrendered, particularly in Massachusetts; but Philip, with his faithful ally, Wetalamo, the Squaw Sachem of Pocasset, still maintained the contest. About the middle of July, Church received a commission from Governour Winslow, to raise a company of volunteers, of 200 men, English and Indians; the English not to exceed sixty.* This enterprising officer, had something in his character and manner, which gained the confidence and affections of his men and of the Indians. He was brave, humane, social, and sincere; like good Humphrey Atherton, so cordially commended in the *Wonder-working Providence*, "one of a cheerful spirit and true for the country."—Many of Awashonk's men readily enlisted with Church. He marched the same night on which he received his commission, got to Middleborough before day; "took into the woods and swampy thickets," the next morning, and captured a party of Narragansett and Mount Hope Indians, with which he returned to Plymouth, and proceeded forthwith in pursuit of a body of the enemy in another direction. The Connecticut troops under Major Talcot, with the spirited volunteers from New London, Stonington and Norwich, had complete command on the side of

* In Church's history, a copy of his commission is inserted. It bears date July 24th, 1676. This date is too late in the month to be reconciled with the particulars given in his narrative, and by other co-temporary writers. It would be easy to state the circumstances, which render the correctness of this date questionable; but the detail would occupy more room than can be conveniently afforded to such a discussion. A remark in a letter from Rev. Mr. Walley, to Rev. Mr. Cotton, seems to settle the question. "I am glad," says he, "of the success *Ben. Church* hath, it is the good fruit of the coming in of Indians to us; those that come in are conquered and help to conquer others." This letter is dated July 18th. The writer evidently has reference to Church's early success, after he received his commission; for he had done nothing before, in that campaign, excepting the negotiation with Awashonka. The real date of the commission, therefore, may be supposed to have been on the 14th of July, and the insertion of the 24th, an error of the press, or a mistake of a figure in transcribing the Author's minutes.

Narragansett; the Massachusetts troops were at Rehoboth, and Major Bradford, with his army, as it was called, posted himself at Taunton. Philip soon found it necessary for his security, or convenient for his purposes of offence, to pass over to the eastern side of Taunton River. Dartmouth and Middleborough having been destroyed, the whole territory, between that river and the towns on the sea-coast, was a desolate wilderness, excepting Taunton and Bridgewater. This was the scene of Church's brief but brilliant campaign; the details of which are given, with lively simplicity, in his narrative.

By the resolute and persevering efforts of Church and Bradford, aided, as occasion required, by the prompt exertions of youthful volunteers, particularly from the towns of Bridgewater and Taunton, Philip's situation soon became extremely perilous. He was accompanied by his family, and many of his well tried warriors, but was hunted from every retreat, and a close of the bloody conflict was eagerly and confidently sought, by his unwearied pursuers, in his capture or death. On the 31st of July, a small party from Bridgewater, made a brisk attack upon him, near Titicut, killed a number of his men; among whom was his uncle, Uncompaen, and took his sister,* prisoner. Philip himself escaped. On the next day, he had an encounter with Church, and again escaped, but his wife and son, a child about nine years old, were made prisoners, and conveyed to Plymouth. On the 6th of August, a small party of soldiers, from Taunton, fell in with Wetamo, the Squaw Sachem of Pocasset, with a number of her followers, and took thirty-six prisoners. Wetamo fled, and in attempting to cross Taunton River, on a raft, was drowned.

In "A tale of the wars of King Philip," a poem containing many beauties, the appearance of his departed friend and ally, to the agitated chief, is well imagined and strikingly expressed.

* The capture of Philip's sister rests on the authority of Mather. Church does not mention it, nor is it spoken of in an original paper, found at Bridgewater, giving an account of this affair with Philip, inserted in the valuable paper on Bridgewater, written by Naham Mitchell, Esq. and published in the Historical Collections.

"Mid the thick shadows of the grove,
 A form was rushing seen;
 He saw with wilder'd paces rove
 Pocasset's warrior queen.
 As from the water's depths she came,
 With dripping locks and bloated frame;
 Wild her discoloured arms she threw
 To grasp him; and as swift he flew,
 Her hollow screams he heard behind,
 Come mingling with the howling wind.
 'Why fly from Wetamoc? she died,
 Bearing the war-axe on thy side.' " *Yamoyden, Canto V.**

The poet has judiciously abstained from presenting the shocking exhibition, which history records. Her body was afterwards found. The head was severed, and exposed upon a pole at Taunton; and we cannot peruse without humiliation and disgust, the unfeeling sarcasms, with which a reverend co-temporary historian relates this occurrence, and describes the lamentations of the prisoners, when, in gazing on the appalling spectacle, they recognized the countenance of their queen. Philip did not long survive these accumulated disasters. He retired, with a few remaining adherents, to a swamp, at the foot of Mount Hope, and there, on the 12th day of August, fell a victim to his unwearied pursuers. The little band which performed this achievement, was led on by Church, but the fatal ball was despatched by *Alderman*, a Pocasset Indian, who, with his family, deserted his nation,

* *Yamoyden* is a performance of so much merit, and so creditable to the authors and to the country, that it is with reluctance any fault is suggested. We must acknowledge, however, that we are not altogether satisfied with the "gray old man," in the third Canto, nor with his sermon, and are unwilling to admit him to be a fair representative of the Pilgrims. A congregational puritan would not be likely to compare the rapid growth and wide extension of his favourite institutions to *Jonah's gourd*. Such an allusion would rather seem to indicate no friendly eye, one that could not look with complacency on the flourishing condition of churches deeply involved in the "sin and danger of non-conformity." Besides, this preacher is too vehement and acrimonious; and it were to be wished, that the selection had rather been made from the school of Robinson and Brewster; men imbued with the spirit of heaven-born charity, who suffered long and were yet kind, and who would not imprecate or announce divine vengeance on Old England for its punctilious tenacity in regard to mother Church, nor on New England for supposed errors in a creed.

early in the war. The indignities inflicted on the lifeless body of the Sachem, permitted, and even directed, by Church, cannot be considered as in keeping with the usual magnanimity of his character. He might have pleaded the example of some of Homer's heroes; but a Christian commander, acting under the authority of a civilized and Christian community, should have abstained from such wanton expressions of revenge, on the remains of a fallen foe. Before this event, an uninterrupted succession of favourable occurrences, numerous captures of prisoners, and instances of voluntary submission, had, in a great degree, dissipated the gloomy prospect, which had prevailed, and, in the week before the death of Philip, the 17th of August was appointed to be observed as a day of public thanksgiving in all the towns in the Colony. On that day, "his head was brought into Plymouth, in great triumph."* Some of the Indian chiefs still survived and maintained the contest, but their feeble efforts gave but little concern, after the death of Philip. The capture of Anawon and Tisiquan's surrender, may be considered as placing the distressed Colony in a state of repose. So was it, also, with Massachusetts, excepting that the eastern depredations, which commenced about the same time with Philip's hostile movement, but which do not appear to have any concerted connexion with his plans, were not so soon terminated. The war continued in that quarter, until 1678.

In the fierce and protracted conflict with Philip, prisoners were treated with great severity, especially those who were at all distinguished. Generally they were condemned to slavery and sold.—Not a few were executed, at Plymouth and at Boston.

* Plymouth Church Records. A singular mistake was made by the Rev. Mr. Cotton, in recording this occurrence. He places the Thanksgiving on the 12th of August, Philip being killed, it is observed, 'two or three day's before.' Great as our respect must be for that venerable book, we must conclude, that there is an error in this date. It is in contradiction to every co-temporary account, and to unvarying tradition, as to the date of Philip's death. There is this consideration, also, to confirm our conviction of the mistake. The 12th of August, (O. S.) in that year, was on *Saturday*, a very improbable day to have been selected for a general Thanksgiving. But the 17th of August, assigned, according to Dr. Mather, for the Thanksgiving, was on *Thursday*, a day usually chosen for such solemnities.

In the acts of the Court, and in the orders of the Council of War, a distinction was taken between those who fought openly in the field, and "notorious murderers and authors of unsufferable mischiefs." On this ground, those who attacked Clark's garrison, in Plymouth, and killed so many of its occupants, are expressly excepted from mercy or quarter, in one of the commissions given to Captain Church. Four of the eleven delinquents, concerned in that transaction, who were taken in July 1678, were executed at Plymouth. Anawon and Tisiquin suffered a similar fate, greatly to the grief of Captain Church, who captured Anawon, and induced Tisiquin to surrender, by authorizing encouraging communications to be made to him. Anawon was far advanced in years, and had been a chief and a counsellor in the time of Massasoit. There was a dignity and decorum in his deportment, as appears by Church's interesting narrative of the circumstances of his capture, impressing the reader in his favour, and inducing a wish that he had been spared. The Indians had boasted that Tisiquin was invulnerable, and could not be pierced by a bullet. Church then said, that he would not have him killed, but would employ him to fight the eastern Indians. He came in, says Mr. Hubbard, "upon hopes of being made a captain under Captain Church, but upon trial (which was the condition on which his being promised a captain's place, under Captain Church, did depend,) he was found penetrable by the English guns, for he fell down upon the first shot, and thereby received the just reward of his former wickedness." This pitiful evasion, it may be hoped, belongs wholly to the historian; we are unwilling to believe, that the authorities of the country would have resorted to such unworthy equivocation. Church, certainly, must be acquitted of authorizing or suggesting any such interpretation of his language.

In a letter to the editor from his esteemed friend, the late Mr. Hazard, of Philadelphia, an inquiry was made, what was done with Philip's son? A satisfactory answer could not, at that time, be given. From documents since examined,* we learn, that the

* Communicated by Nahum Mitchell, Esq.

question, whether he should be put to death, was seriously agitated, and the opinion of learned divines was requested on the subject. The Rev. Mr. Cotton of Plymouth, and the Rev. Mr. Arnold of Marshfield, gave the following answer.

"The question being propounded to us by our honoured rulers, whether Philip's son be a child of death! Our answer hereto is, that we do acknowledge that rule, Deu. 24, 16, to be moral and therefore perpetually binding, viz. that in a particular act of wickedness, though capitall, the crime of the parent doth not render his child a subject to punishment by the civill magistrate; yet, upon serious consideration, we humbly conceive that the children of notorious traitors, rebells, and murtherers, especially of such as have bin principal leaders and actors in such horrid villanies, and that against a whole nation, yea the whole Israel of God, may be involved in the guilt of their parents, and may, *salva republica*, be adjudged to death, as to us seems evident by the scripture instances of *Saul*, *Achan*, *Haman*, the children of whom were cut off, by the sword of Justice for the transgressions of their parents, although, concerning some of those children, it be manifest, that they were not capable of being co-actors therein.

SAMUEL ARNOLD.
JOHN COTTON."

September 7th, 1676.

The Rev. Increase Mather of Boston, offers these sentiments on the question, in a letter to Mr. Cotton, October 30, 1676.

"If it had not been out of my mind, when I was writing, I should have said something about Philip's son. It is necessary that some effectual course should be taken about him. He makes me think of Hadad, who was a little child when his father, (the chief sarchem of the Edomites) was killed by Joab; and, had not others fled away with him, I am apt to think, that David would have taken a course, that Hadad should never have proved a scourge to the next generation."

The Rev. James Keith of Bridgewater, took a different view of the subject, and gave more benignant interpreta-

tions. In a letter to Mr. Cotton, of the same date, with Dr. Mather's he says, "I long to hear what becomes of Philip's wife and his son. I know there is some difficulty in that Psalm, 137, 8, 9, though I think it may be considered, whether there be not some specialty and somewhat extraordinary in it. That law, Deut. 24, 16, compared with the commended example of Amasias, 2 Chron. 25, 4, doth sway much with me, in the case under consideration. I hope God will direct those whom it doth concern to a good issue. Let us join our prayers, at the throne of grace, with all our might, that the Lord would so dispose of all public motions and affairs, that his Jerusalem, in this wilderness, may be the habitation of justice and the mountain of holiness, that so it may be, also, a quiet habitation, a tabernacle that shall not be taken down."

The question thus seriously agitated, would not, in modern times, occur in any nation in Christendom. Principles of public law, sentiments of humanity, and the mild influence of the Gospel, in preference to a recurrence to the Jewish dispensation, so much regarded by our ancestors, in their deliberations and decisions,* would forbid the thought of inflicting punishment on children for the offences of a parent. It is gratifying to learn, that, in this instance, the meditated severity was not carried into execution, but that the merciful spirit, manifested in Mr. Keith's suggestions, prevailed. In a letter from Mr. Cotton to his brother Mather, on the 20th of March following, on another subject, there is this incidental remark: "Philip's boy goes now to be sold." Prisoners that were sold were, in many instances, sent out of the country; generally, it is believed, to the Bermudas. A rigid superintendence was systematically maintained, after hostilities had ceased, over those Indians who remained. Laws and rules were, indeed, frequently made and enforced, before the war, for the government of the Indians. Requirements abridging the cherished freedom of those children of the forest, and interfering with their habits and customs, were a constant source of

* In this discussion, however, both scripture rule and example were in favour of the prisoner. The case quoted by Mr. Keith from 2 Chronicles, is directly in point. "But he slew not their children, but did as it is written in the law, in the book of Moses," &c.

irritation. Many symptoms were apparent, long before Philip's war, of discontent and resentment, among the savages, which gradually ripened into invincible prejudice and disgust. When their temperament was vitiated and inflamed, by a free indulgence in the use of spirituous liquors, to which they were strongly addicted, and they became familiar with fire-arms, and even more expert, in the employment of those fatal weapons, than a great proportion of their neighbours, a settled determination and attempt to free themselves from control, seemed inevitable. Governour Bradford, twenty years before, left a solemn warning to his countrymen, of the alarming dangers they were incurring, from the introduction of fire-arms among the Indians, and gives a striking representation of the bold and insolent deportment, produced by the acquisition of such formidable instruments. "These fierce natives," says he, "are now so furnished with guns and muskets, and are so skilled in them, that they keep the English in awe, and give the law to them, when they please: and of powder and shot, they have such abundance, as, sometimes, they refuse to buy more. Flints, screw-plates, and moulds for all sorts of shot they have, and skill how to use them. They can mend and new stock their pieces, as well, almost, as an Englishman. Thus, like madmen, we put them in a way to kill us with our own weapons. They well know how to make gain thereby. They kill fowl, and sell to us the feathers. It doth not boot us to seek for deer, since they can shoot them with guns. They have been, formerly, glad to gather up and take that garbage, of which we did make no use; but now, they can fully supply themselves, and the English are glad to buy of them. If this were all, it might be borne, though, thereby, the English should suffer reproach; but, now, they know their advantage so well, that they will say to some, that they can when they please or will, drive the English away, or kill them. Oh base, wretched men, who thus, for gain, care not if all their neighbours be slaughtered! How can they think, that what they thus purchase with blood can do them good? I know it is laid upon the French, or Dutch, and freely grant, that they do much use this execrable trade, by which the natives are led to invade one another. and by which, also, the French and Dutch do suffer, for

teaching them this wicked art. But both these are remote from us, and our Indians can have, from thence, no full supply. It is English guns we see, for the French and Dutch are more slight, and are such, that these Indians are now grown so knowing as to despise. They have fair fowling pieces and muskets, all English, and keep them neat and brave, and, we must speak it to our shame, we are not furnished so well as they. For traders sell to them, at high prices, which their neighbours cannot give—merchants, shopkeepers, traders, and planters also, spare not to do this thing. Many more, indeed, abhor this practice, whose innocence will not save them, if, which God forbid, they should come to see, by this means, some sad tragedy, when these heathen in their fury, shall cruelly shed our innocent blood.”*

This state of things prompted to the resolute course adopted by Governour Bradford’s successor, Mr. Prince. In this he had a firm, and energetic co-adjutor, Josiah Winslow, who was the first that received the office and title of Major, in the colony, as commander in chief of the military forces. On a full review of their united measures, it will be found, it is believed, that, though often offensive to the Indians, they were such as the exigency of the case, and a regard to the public safety required.

Dr. Trumbull, from an accurate survey of the various details, given in the histories of the time, presents the following summary of the loss of life and property, in the war with Philip. “About 600 of the inhabitants of New England, the greatest part of whom were the flower and strength of the country, fell in battle, or were murdered by the enemy. A great part of the inhabitants of the country were in deep mourning. There were few families, who had not lost some near relation, or friend. Twelve or thirteen town in Massachusetts, Plimouth and Rhode Island, were utterly destroyed, and others greatly damaged. About 600 buildings, chiefly dwelling houses, were consum-

* This extract is from “A Descriptive and Historical account of New-England, in verse,” written by Gov. Bradford, inserted in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. III. In reducing the verse to prose, the language of the writer has been studiously preserved. By this transformation, the style will be found to correspond with his other writings; the worthy author “is himself again;” and appears, it is conceived, to more advantage, than in the jinkling fetters, which he had a fancy to put on.

ed with fire. An almost insuperable debt was contracted by the colonies, when their numbers, dwellings, goods, cattle, and all their resources were greatly diminished." The same respectable author offers an estimate of the number of inhabitants, at that time, in New England; and of the military strength of the country. His calculation is grounded on the number of the militia in Connecticut, 2,250 men, and on its proportion, three hundred and fifteen, of the thousand men, directed by the Commissioners of the United Colonies to be raised, in 1675. On this basis he would reckon 7,150 to be the whole number of the militia, and the number of inhabitants in the United Colonies to be thirty-five thousand seven hundred and fifty. Edward Randolph, in his report to the Lords of the Privy Council, October 1676, estimates the number of men in New England, able to bear arms, to be 40,000, and the number of inhabitants, in the Massachusetts government alone, including as it then did, New Hampshire and Maine, to be one hundred and fifty thousand. But no confidence can be placed in his statements. He evidently writes with a view to depreciate the merits and services of a people, whom, on so many occasions, he abused and calumniated. "About 600 men, he says, have been slain, and 12 captains, most of them brave and stout persons and of loyal principles, whilst the church members had liberty to stay at home, and not hazard their persons in the wilderness;"—and, again, with particular spleen against Massachusetts, after estimating the whole loss of property at £150,000, he adds, "of which the Massachusetts Colony hath not been damaged one third part, the great loss falling upon Plymouth and Connecticut colonies." But Connecticut, as Gov. Hutchinson observes, in a note on this passage, suffered but little by the war, and "Massachusetts," he adds, "lost more of their substance, as well as of their inhabitants, than both the other colonies together." Dr. Trumbull's estimate, however, of the number of inhabitants, and of the militia, is, probably, considerably lower than the actual amount. Rev. William Brattle of Cambridge, whose talents and acquirements, and sound judgment, entitle his opinion, on the subject, to respect, estimates the number of inhabitants in New England, in 1708, at about 100 or 150,000, and the number capable of bearing of arms to be about 20, or 25,000. Proceeding on the basis of this estimate; we

cannot reckon the number of inhabitants, in 1675, at less than fifty thousand. The militia may be computed, as a fifth part of the whole number. In a letter to England, from the Commissioners of the United Colonies, August 25, 1679, recommending the grant of Mount Hope territory to Plymouth Colony, there is this expression, "an invaluable sum towards New-Plymouth part of disbursements, which in the whole, hath been more than one hundred thousand pounds." The passage may be construed to state, that Plymouth disbursements amounted to that sum; but such, probably, was not the meaning. It should rather be considered, it is believed, to intend the whole disbursements of all the colonies, not including loss of property by fire and pillage. Of the expenses of Plymouth colony, in the contest, there are existing documents, though not sufficiently complete to furnish the whole amount. A tax of one thousand pounds was levied in March 1676. The highest tax in any former year was £200. At the close of the war, on the settlement of accounts by the Commissioners, Plymouth was to pay £1,000 to Massachusetts, in part of her advances beyond the stated proportion; and there is a statement, on record, of the amount disbursed by the several towns on account of the war, before July 1676; the resistance of the enemy, being, as has been observed, for a time, almost entirely devolved on those corporations. To this account we annex, in a collateral column, each town's proportion of £124,10, "the colony's part of the contribution" "made by divers Christians in Ireland," for the relief of such as were "impoverished, distressed, and in necessity by the late war," by which assignment the proportionate loss of property, sustained by the respective towns, may be seen.

	Disbursement.	Share of the Irish donation.
Plymouth,	£351 3 9	£8 00 0
Duxbury,	164 19 0	2 00 0
Scituate,	536 7 4	12 00 0
Marshfield,	266 1 0	2 00 0
Sandwich,	327 15 6	
Carried forward.	£1,696 06 7	£24 00 0 124,10

Brought forward, £1,696 08 7	£24 00 0
Yarmouth, 266 1 0	10
Barnstable, 351 3 9	3 00 0
Taunton, 327 15 6	10 00 0
Rehoboth, 485 5 4	32 00 0
Eastham, 236 5 0	10
Bridgewater, 164 19 0	7 00 0
Swansen, 165 0 0	21 00 0
Dartmouth, 22 00 0	22 00 0
Middleborough, 4 10 0	4 10 0
£3,692 16 2*	£124 10 0

Dartmouth and Middlebury were so entirely laid waste, that no pecuniary advances were made by those towns. Sandwich sustained no damage, and the other towns, on the cape, suffered but little. The Indians, near the lower towns, in that quarter, were, however, occasionally restless and mischievous, to such a degree, in the early part of the war, that a guard was ordered, by the government, to protect the dwelling of Mr. Hinckley, who was employed, and often abroad, in the public service.

* The daily pay of the officers and soldiers, who served in the war, in the year 1675, was as follows:

General,	6s.
Captain,	5s.
Commissary General,	4s.
Surgeon General,	4s.
Lieutenant,	4s.
Ensign,	4s.
Sergeant,	2s.6d.
Corporal,	2s.
Soldier,	1s.6d.

Indian corn was from 2s.6d. to 3s. per bushel, and the price of a cow was 45s. In the next year, soldiers were compensated, in part, by a portion of the money accruing from the sale of prisoners. Lands, also, were assigned to soldiers, in satisfaction of the sums due to them. The Indian auxiliaries received compensation in the plunder that might be acquired. Mr. Walley, in his letter to Mr. Cotton, July 18, 1676, has this remark, relative to the employment of Indians in the service; "I observe, throughout the land, where Indians are employed, there hath been the greatest success, if not the only success, which is a humbling providence of God, that we have so much need of them; and cannot do our work without them. It should teach us to be wise, in our carriage towards them."

The donation from Ireland is a gratifying instance of the generous influence of Christian sympathies, and is supposed to have been procured, by the exertions, of Rev. Nathaniel Mather, at that time a minister, of the Congregational denomination, in Dublin. Connecticut, also, happily escaping the depredations of the enemy, besides the prompt and efficient aid rendered by its brave officers and soldiers, on various emergencies, contributed liberally, in grain and provisions, to the relief of their suffering neighbours. So also did the town of Boston, then, as ever since, distinguished for deeds of benevolence.

The MAP OF NEW-ENGLAND, prefixed to this volume, is copied from one accompanying the Rev. William Hubbard's "Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians," published in 1677. Rude and imperfect as it is, it appears to have been regarded, at the time of its appearance, as an encouraging effort of art. Being, as the title expresses, "the first map here cut," it has been thought a suitable companion of the Memorial. In some lines, signed B. T., addressed to the author of the Narrative, this performance is thus complimented.

*Moxon, who drew two globes, or whosoere,
Must make a third, or else the old ones tear,
To find a roome for thy new map, by which
Thy friends and country all thou dost enrich."*

The copy now given, is strictly faithful, without any corrections of the mistakes in orthography, or of errors of any other description. *Wine-Hills* for *White Hills*, is supposed to be a mistake made by the artist, for it is not recollected that the White

* By B. T., Benjamin Thompson is intended, son of Rev. William Thompson, mentioned in a note, page 324. For further information, respecting this gentleman, the reader is referred to Mr. Savage's very valuable work, his improved edition of Governour Winthrop's Journal, where so many of our worthy predecessors have found their just place. Cotton Mather, introductory to some of his biographical researches, observes, that "we New-Englanders do dwell in so cold and clear an air, that more of the smaller stars may be seen, by our considerers, than in many other places." Of the greater and the smaller stars, Mr. Savage has given a distinct view, with accurate determination of their right ascension, and meridian altitude. It is to be feared, that, in reference to a brother *considerer*, he may have announced more than will be discerned.

Mountains have, in any other instance, borne the name of *Wic Hills*. The two interior perpendicular lines give the north and south bounds of Massachusetts, as, at that time, claimed, according to their construction of their charter limits—three miles south of Charles river, and all and every part thereof; and three miles north of Merrimack river, and all and every part thereof. They conceived that they might rightfully extend their line from points, three miles from the heads of those rivers respectively, eastwardly, to the same latitude on the Atlantic coast; and westwardly, to their limits in that direction. In 1642, a station was taken, by Massachusetts, as being three miles south of Charles River. This was called Woodward and Saffery's station, from the names of the Surveyors employed for the purpose. In 1652, a place was designated, by the same government, as being three miles north of Merrimack river, from whence their northern line was to extend to a point of corresponding latitude on the sea coast. New-Hampshire and Maine being, at the date of this map, and long before, under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, by voluntary consent, the only controversy, in reference to the northern line, was with the heirs of Mason and Gorges. At the south, their projected line gave much umbrage, particularly to Connecticut. It was contended, in that Colony, that Woodward and Saffery's station was arbitrarily assumed, and, even if it were admitted to be correct, yet that a due west line, from thence, would pass several miles north of Windsor, where, according to the Massachusetts claim, and according to Hubbard's map, it strikes Connecticut River. The dispute, on that subject, was not settled until 1713, when the line was adjusted pursuant to its present course.* The continuation of the line from Woodward and Saffery's station, eastwardly, to the sea, taking off a considerable portion of the Old Colony of Plymouth, and even their metropolis, the town of Plymouth, must have been somewhat startling to the good people of that Colony. It is not easy to explain such a demarcation, especially, as we are informed in the history of Massachusetts, that the line between that

* Trumbull's History of Connecticut.

Colony and Plymouth was amicably settled in 1664.* The oblique line, from Woodward and Saffery's station, if terminating as it ought, at Cohasset, and not at Scituate, would show the northern bound of Plymouth Colony, according to their claim, under their patent, and agreeably to the jurisdiction which they uniformly exercised. Perhaps it was thought expedient, in Massachusetts, thus to trace the southern perpendicular line, on the map, that they might appear consistent in their construction of the Charter, the more advantageously to support their claim on the northern border, which was, at that time, in controversy, without any serious views of asserting such a course, in reference to their Plymouth neighbours.

This map was framed to illustrate the history of Philip's war, and, in this view, some explanations may be convenient to the reader. If it were intended to point out all the places that suffered from Indian attacks, the direction, subjoined to the title, is defective; for there are places which thus suffered, that are indicated by figures only, without names annexed; and other places, of like description, which have names annexed without figures, and some without names or figures; but pointed out merely by the representation of a building. The figures, whether with or without names annexed, indicate places attacked by the Indians, or Indian posts distinguished in the history of the war. Of the latter description is No. 19, the Swamp fort, in Naragansett. Mount Hope, also, is of this character, but there was a settlement within Mount Hope Neck appertaining to Swanzey. It contained eighteen houses, all destroyed. The places, which have both numbers and names, require no explanation. Those represented by numbers only, are the following:

- No. 2. Swanzey. Forty houses, all burnt but six.
- 3. Middleborough. Misplaced in the Map. Its situation is between Taunton and Plymouth.
- 4. Dartmouth. 13. Hatfield.
- 5. Mendon. 16. Westfield. A few houses burnt in the winter of 1675-6.
- 17. Quonsigomog. Afterward *Worcester*,—at that time, a small settlement, containing only six or seven

* Hutchins' I. 209.

houses. It was a convenient station for the troops, on various occasions, in the course of the war, and is mentioned by Captain Henchman, in one of his letters.

18. Pettiquomscat, or "Jere. Bull's Garrison-house." South Kingston. This place was intended for head quarters, in the Narragansett expedition, but was surprised and destroyed by the enemy, a few days before the arrival of the army.
19. Canonicus' fort. The seat of the severe action, December 19, 1675.
20. Warwick; destroyed and deserted, "the chief mischief done was upon March 16, 1676."
25. Wickford, "where was Mr. Smith's house," the rendezvous in the Narragansett expedition.
35. Andover.
41. Kittery.
47. York.
50. Saco, River [Biddeford.]
51. Wells.
54. Spurwink, Scarborough.
55. Falmouth.

There is a chasm in the series of numbers. Nos. 22, 29, 30, 37, 38, 41, 49, and 53, do not appear on the map. The places without names or numbers, but represented by the figure of a building, are the following, those which suffered in the war having an asterisk prefixed.

In Plymouth Colony.

Eastham. Below Yarmouth.

Barnstable. Between Sandwich and Yarmouth.

*Bridgewater. Between Taunton and Weymouth.

In Rhode Island.

Portsmouth.

*Pawtuxet. Between Providence and Warwick.

*Westerly. Between No. 18 and Stonington.

In Massachusetts.

Beverly. Opposite to Salem.

Malden, }
Reading, } Between Charleston and Bradford.

Topsfield. Between Ipswich and Bradford.

Cambridge village, (Newton.) In the bend of Charles River.

In Connecticut.

Farmington. Westward from Hartford.

Wethersfield. Between Hartford and Mottabesick.*

Haddam. Between Mottabesick and Saybrook.

Norwich. North of New London.

The towns named on the map, without numbers, but which suffered from the enemy, are Plymouth, Scituate, Seaconk (Rehoboth,) Providence, Weymouth and Hingham.—There are a few towns not included in the map, which were in existence at the time of its publication, and within its limits; namely, in Plymouth colony, Duxbury and Marshfield; in Massachusetts *Proper*, Manchester, Amesbury, Medford, Dunstable, Sherburne, Milton and Wrentham. In New-Hampshire, Exeter; in Connecticut, Simsbury, Lyme, Killingworth and Wallingford. The towns of Milford, Derby, Fairfield, Stratford, Greenwich, Stamford, Norwalk and Woodbury, in the same colony were, at that time, settled and incorporated, but are beyond the western limit of the map—there were several small settlements, also, in New-Hampshire and Maine, which were not incorporated. Excluding these, not named in the map, and all the towns in Connecticut, none of which suffered any direct injury from the enemy, it will appear, that there were eighty-seven towns and settlements in the remaining part of New-England, at that period; seventy-seven of which are indicated in the map. Of the eighty-seven towns, fifty three, nearly two thirds, suffered by Indian depredations, without including Billerica, Chelmsford, Braintree and Wrentham, in which places some slight injury was sustained.

As presenting a view of New-England, in this perilous stage of its infancy, and of the settlements at that period, this ancient map may be regarded as an interesting document; and when compared with the complete and elegant map of New-England, recently published in Boston,† exhibiting the same territory in its

* Mottabesick, or Mattabesick—Middletown.

Squaheag, or Squakeag—Northfield.

Squebaog, in Massachusetts, usually written Quabaug or Quabang—Brookfield.

† Compiled by Nathan Hale, Esq.

present matured and highly improved condition, will suggest many grateful and impressive considerations.

B. B. p. 346.

Josiah Winslow, was the first Governour who was a native of the country. He was twenty-nine years of age, when his father died, and thus had the benefit of that eminent man's attention in his education. His whole life evinced that he copied that bright example of steady virtue, public spirit and energetic action. One of the first steps in his administration, was to correct a rash proceeding that had made unfavourable impressions on the minds of many of the best men in the Colony. Mr. Cudworth, was not only left out of the magistracy, as has been before observed, on account of his opposition to the proceedings against the Quakers, but his letter to Mr. Brown, published in England, had given such offence, that he was disfranchised, and deprived of his military command, in Scituate. A like severity, and on similar grounds, had been exercised in regard to Isaac Robinson, son of Rev. John Robinson. His name was stricken off the list of freemen. Soon after Mr. Winslow's election, both these gentlemen were restored to their former places, and the country had the benefit of Mr. Cudworth's valuable services, in many important trusts, in the military and in the civil department.

Besides the particulars in the preceding note, manifesting the eminent services of Gov. Winslow, in Philips' war, we would add the following extracts from his letters to Gov. Leverett, given by Gov. Hutchinson, in his History of Massachusetts. "Some resolute attempt for Philips' surprisal must be put in execution. Would to God, I was with our men, so as, I might not, in the mean time, be missed at home. I should hope, by the blessing of God, to give a good account in a short time."—July 26, 1675.

"My person, I hear, has been much threatened. I have about 20 men at my house; have sent away my wife and children to Salem, that I may be less incumbered; have flanked my house, and resolve to maintain it as long as a man will stand by me."—The last extract is dated July 4th, the year not mentioned. It was probably in 1676. His health, habitually feeble, was much impaired by the fatigues of the Narraganset

expedition. In February, 1676, the Commissioners of the United Colonies, reciting, that, "through indisposition of body, he is disenabled from going forth again," made provision, that the Commander in chief of the forces in the Colony, where the seat of war should happen to be, should be "chief over the whole." One hundred pounds was allowed by the Commissioners for his services, and a grant, on the same ground, was made to him by Plymouth Colony. His stated salary as Governour was fifty pounds per annum. The expenses of his funeral, forty pounds, were directed to be paid from the public Treasury, "as a testimonial of the Colony's endeared love and affection to him."* [Plymouth Colony Records.] His wife Penelope, was a daughter of Herbert Pelham, Esq. a gentleman of distinction,† who took an early interest in the settlement of New-England, and who came to Boston in 1645, but did not remain long in the country. In his will, dated at London, January 1, 1673, proved March 13, 1677, he is called of Ferrers, in Bowers Hamlet, in the County of Essex. It appears, by this will, that Governour Bellingham married a sister of the testator. His lands in Cambridge, Watertown, Sudbury, and elsewhere in New-England, are given to his son, Edward Pelham; and his personal property, in this country, to that son and his daughter Penelope Winslow. Mrs. Winslow survived her husband, and we have seen a kind letter of condolence, on the death of her husband, addressed to her by Secretary Morton. She died, in 1703, aged 73. A late tourist into the Old Colony, describes his visit to the seat of the Winslow family, in Marshfield, and to other memorable places, in that vicinity, in a manner that is creditable

* Two elegies were written, on the death of Gov. Winslow, one by Rev. Mr. Wetherell, of Scituate, the other by Rev. Mr. Wiswall, of Duxbury. Of the first a printed copy is preserved, in the Sever family, at Kingston. They must be classed with the other poetry of the country, at that period, of which sufficient specimens are given in the Memorial. Both the writers make pointed application of the great comet of 1680, which appeared about a month before the death of Gov. Winslow.—The

"Fortlights, shoals, quicksands, quagmires, bogs and sloughs," which he encountered, are brought to view in Mr. Wetherell's elegy. This performance cannot but be regarded with tenderness, when we look at the signature, "*Mæstus posuit. William Wetherell. Octogenus.*"

† Of the same family with the Duke of Newcastle. *Hutchins'* I 136.

to his taste and feelings. Speaking of the family portraits, all of which, we hope, may, at no distant day, be copied, to adorn the Pilgrim Hall, in Plymouth, that of Josiah Winslow, he says, is "evidently by the hand of a master, and his beautiful bride makes one of the group. She appears about twenty, and her costume is more modern than that given to other females of that period, of greater age. Her head dress is of great simplicity, [the hair] parted on the top, and falling in ringlets on each side of her temples and neck; the countenance bespeaks intelligence and gentleness."* The writer's visit to the family tomb, brings to our notice Isaac Winslow, son of Josiah, many years a counsellor, who died in 1738, aged 67. His son, Major-General John Winslow, who died in 1774, aged 73, and Isaac Winslow, M. D. son of the General, who died in 1819, aged 81. The estate at Marshfield is still in the family, of which, the male representatives, bearing the name, are the sons of John Winslow, Esq. Counsellor at Law, lately deceased, only son of Dr. Winslow, and the sons of Edward Winslow, late of the Province of New-Brunswick, deceased, son of Edward, a brother of General John Winslow.

The device on the seal of the first Edward Winslow, copied and inserted at the close of this volume, represents a pelican feeding its young. As an emblem of paternal affections,† it is placed in connection with the names of some of the most distinguished of the Pilgrims, whose regard for posterity prompted to their enterprize, and influenced them to firm endurance of many hardships, dangers and sorrows.

C. C. p. 348.

The writer of the supplement remarks, that James Brown and James Cudworth are not mentioned in the Memorial, as assistants, and that they were first chosen to that office between 1670 and 1675; but Mr. Brown is mentioned as an assistant in 1665 and 1666, and Mr. Cudworth in 1656. This gentleman was afterward Deputy-Governour. In 1680, Mount Hope Ter-

* Boston Commercial Gazette, Nov. 9, 1826.

† And : Alciati, Embl.

ritory, about seven thousand acres, was granted to the Colony by the Crown, for their services and sufferings in the war. It was a valuable tract of land, and Plymouth had powerful competitors. Rhode-Island urged their claim, on the ground, that it was within the limits of their jurisdiction. This was contested by Plymouth, and they had the support of the Commissioners of the United Colonies. Among the applicants, was John Crown, a poet, who was somewhat of a favourite at Court. He was son of a dissenting minister in Nova-Scotia, and his claim to the solicited bounty was founded on his father's alleged losses, in consequence of the surrender of Nova-Scotia to the French, by the Treaty of Breda. Mount Hope Territory was sold soon afterward, by Plymouth, for three hundred pounds. The King's letter communicating the grant of Mount Hope, contained encouraging assurances of further favours, upon proper application. Mr. Cudworth was sent to England as the Colony agent in September, 1681, to solicit a Charter, similar to the one which had been granted to Connecticut. He died in England soon after his arrival. Their various petitions, afterward, on the subject, were disregarded. Impoverished and disheartened as they were, they had new difficulties to encounter from the perverse policy prevailing in the councils of the mother country, and had their share of perplexity and suffering from the various oppressive measures pursued, in regard to the Colonies, in the latter part of the reign of Charles II, and in the short and inglorious reign of his bigoted successor. During the administration of Andros, a deep gloom overspread the country. We regret to find, that Gov. Hinckley accepted a seat in the council, which suspended the ancient authorities of the country, and authorized or countenanced a course of arbitrary, vexatious and oppressive proceedings.—It should be observed, however, that many of this council, were sincere well-wishers to their country, and accepted a seat at the board, with a view of preventing injurious measures. It appears from documents which remain, that Gov. Hinckley was decidedly opposed to the exceptionable proceedings of Andros and his adherents. In his letter to Mr. Blaithwait, of the plantation office, dated June 28, 1687, ~~in which~~ there is a full and free expression of the many grievances which the Colony suffered under Sir Edmund An-

dros' administration. A petition to the King, on the same subject, in October, of that year, is more minute and emphatic. It is signed, "Thomas Hinckley, in behalf of your Majesty's most ancient and loyal Colony of New-Plymouth in New-England."—In reference to the new patents and grants, which they were compelled to take for their lands, fairly acquired, and so long peaceably possessed, it is observed, that all the money left in the Colony would scarcely suffice "to pay one half the charge for warrants, surveying and patents, if every one must be forced thereto." There were several other gentlemen from Plymouth Colony, of Sir Edmund's council, but none of them it is believed, approved and supported his measures, excepting *Nathaniel Clark*. His agency in supporting and carrying into execution various injurious proceedings, rendered him particularly obnoxious. In April 1689, after the seizure of Sir Edmund Andros, at Boston, Clark was arrested at Plymouth, and a public declaration was made by a number of the inhabitants of the town, denouncing him as an "enemy to the peace and prosperity of the people," and as giving false information to the late Governour, "whereby a considerable part of their estate had been unrighteously extorted from them, to the great prejudice of their families and the loss of many necessary comforts."—Plymouth joined most heartily in the general joy at the news of the revolution in England. Among the Hinckley papers, is a sketch of an address to King William III, written by Rev. Samuel Lee, of Bristol, a gentleman of high character, in his time, for genius and learning. Dr. Eliot remarks, that his book entitled "The Triumph of Mercy in the Chariot of Praise" has been much read in New-England, but this performance and his other numerous writings, of which a list is given by President Allen,* are lost in oblivion. The address to King William, is in a highly animated strain, as was to be expected from the pen of Mr. Lee, who left England from his deep abhorrence of the system pursued by James II. An extract will shew the style and manner of the writer.

"—We humbly beg of your excellent majesty, that you would indulge this first plantation of our dear Lord in New-England's Plymouth, within the garden of your royal ~~house~~—to protect

* American Biog. Diet.

and amplify our privileges, according as your sagacious wisdom and tender love may judge meet, upon our further addresses to your Majesty, in any further particular requests, and we shall most devoutly and humbly supplicate the great God of heaven, to give your Majesty the grand march of honour, to be successful in all what your Majesty hath been pleased to design to undertake, [for] the reformed cause throughout the world, that under Christ, you may not only, like another Augustus, dilate your empire to the eastern, but that both the Indies may be enriched with such diamonds and spices, that are the ornaments of the celestial Jerusalem, under your prosperous and heavenly directed conduct.”

Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode-Island resumed their charters.* Plymouth had no charter to resume, but until the interruption in the time of Andros, they had uniformly exercised all the powers of government necessary for the management of their affairs, under their patent from the Council of Plymouth, and by voluntary agreement expressed in their covenant, at Cape Cod, in 1620, sanctioned by uninterrupted acquiescence.—For nearly twenty years, the legislative as well as the elective power, was exercised by the whole body of freemen, in connexion with the magistrates. In 1639, the first representative assembly convened, pursuant to a law made in the preceding year, consisting of Committees, as they were at first called, four from Plymouth, and two from every other town. Afterward, these representatives received the name of deputies. In 1649, the number from Plymouth was reduced to two. The members of the Court, which was in existence in 1686, when the general government under Andros commenced, were called together, upon the revolution. They met at Plymouth on the first Tuesday of June, 1689, and passed the following resolution; “Whereas, through the great changes divine Providence hath ordered out, both in England and in this Country, we, the loyal subjects of the Crown of England, are left in an unsettled state, destitute of government, and exposed to the ill consequences

* The Charter of Massachusetts, was vacated, by Judgment at Law.—Rhode-Island made a formal resignation.—Governour Hutchinson seems to consider Connecticut as doing the same; but, at most, the proceedings on that subject in Connecticut, could amount to only a constructive surrender. [Trumb. Hist. Conn. Ch. xv. xvi.]

thereof, and having, heretofore, enjoyed a quiet settlement of government, in this their Majesties' Colony of New-Plymouth for more than three score and six years, without any interruption; having, also, been, by the late Kings of England, by their royal letters, graciously owned and acknowledged, therein; whereby, notwithstanding our late unjust interruption, and suspension therefrom, by the illegal, arbitrary power of Sir Edmund Andros, (now ceased) the general Court held here, in the name of their present Majesties, William and Mary, King and Queen of England, &c. together with the encouragement given by their said Majesties' gracious declarations, and in humble confidence of their said Majesties' good liking, do therefore, hereby re-assume, and declare their re-assuming of their said former way of government, according to such wholesome constitutions, rules and orders, as were here in force, in June 1686, our title thereto being warranted by prescription and otherwise as aforesaid, and expects a ready submission thereunto, by all their Majesties' good subjects of this Colony, until their Majesties, or this Court, shall otherwise order, and that all our Courts be hereafter held, and all warrants directed, and officers sworn in the name of their Majesties William and Mary, King and Queen of England."

On the 6th of June, Gov. Hinckley wrote to Sir Henry Ashurst, whom he styles, "New-England's friend," inclosing an address, from the Colony, to King William and Queen Mary, "you will see" he says, "representations of our present estate, perhaps a little more particular than were proper in such an application!" These expressions, it is evident, could not have reference to the form of address, prepared by Mr. Lee, which is of a quite different character. This letter is acknowledged August 13, 1689—"I do not make use of the liberty you gave me," says Sir H. Ashurst, "to alter or add any thing to your address, it being all of a piece, a grave, a seasonable and handsome representation of your affairs, which I delivered to the King, after I had read it to him. He returned a very gracious answer, that he would take care of the good of his Colonies in New-England."

Encouraging information was, also, received from Rev. Increase Mather, the Massachusetts agent, in England, who, in his letter to Gov. Hinckley, communicated his conversation with

the King, on the affairs of New-England. Solicitous as Plymouth Colony was, to obtain a charter, for the security of their civil and religious privileges, and to establish the boundaries of their territory, on the side of Rhode-Island, which had been long in controversy, no very prompt exertions appear to have been made for the accomplishment of the object. In February 1690, Mr. Wiswall accompanied Messrs. Cook and Oakes, the two additional Massachusetts agents, by advice of some gentlemen in Boston, as Gov. Hutchinson informs us. Gov. Hinckley, in one of his letters to Sir H. Ashurst, says, that Mr. Wiswall went "on the advice of the Council, and other friends in Boston." After his departure, he was appointed agent for Plymouth. Subsequently, Mr. Mather and Sir H. Ashurst were united with him, in the business of soliciting for a charter; and the Hinckley papers contain a correspondence between those gentlemen and Gov. Hinckley, on the subject. The agents were faithful to their trust, but the desired object could not be accomplished. In January 1691, Cotton Mather thus writes to Gov. Hinckley, referring to letters received from his father—"I perceive, that about the middle of last November, God had so blessed his applications, as when all other means of restoration to our ancient liberties failed us, he had obtained of the King an order to the Judges, Holt and Pollexfen, and the Attorney and Solicitor-General, to draw up a new charter, for us, which was done; but just as this vessel came away, and waited for the broad seal. Governour *Sclater* [Sloughter] of New-York, had Plymouth put into his commission, but purely through my father's industry and discretion, he procured the dropping of it. Our friends at Whitehall assured him, that if he had petitioned for a charter to be bestowed upon Plymouth, by itself, there had none been obtained for you, nor for us neither; wherefore he procured Plymouth to be inserted into our grant. But when Mr. Wiswall understood it, he came and told my father your Colony would all curse him for it, at which the Solicitor-General, being extremely moved, presently dashed it out, so that you are now again like to be annexed unto the government of New-York, and if you find yourselves thereby plunged into manifold miseries, you have none to thank for it, but one of your own." This intelligence,

excited much uneasiness and alarm in Plymouth Colony. Rev. Mr. Cotton, in a letter to Gov. Hinckley, Feb. 6, 1691, urged him to repair to England, and to use his best endeavours to prevent the meditated arrangement. He assures the Governor, that this is the opinion of many men of "wisdom, prudence and piety" with whom he had consulted. "I believe none among us" he adds, "will be free to trust any but yourself; and as for the many hundreds of pounds, that must be collected to defray the charge of such an undertaking, I find, amongst us, great readiness, maugre all our great charges, to contribute liberally thereto." Mr. Cotton appears to have over-rated the ability or the disposition to make the necessary contributions. The Court met in March, and with "heartly thanks" expressed to Sir Henry Ashurst, Rev. Mr. Mather and Rev. Mr. Wiswall, besides a grant to Sir H. Ashurst of fifty guineas, and to the other two gentlemen twenty-five guineas, each, voted to raise £200 more, to be remitted "toward the charge of procuring a charter." Sir Henry Ashurst was appointed sole agent, but was requested to advise with Mr. Mather and Mr. Wiswall. The amount voted, was not in the Treasury, and a subscription was opened, to raise the requisite sum, in the several towns, under the direction of the deputies. It appears by subsequent letters from Gov. Hinckley, to Messrs. Wiswall and Mather, that the whole sum was not raised, and what was collected was returned to the subscribers. In a letter to Mr. Mather, written October 16, 1691, part of which was published by Hutchinson, after giving an account of their ineffectual attempts to procure the money which had been voted, there is this discouraging conclusion. "Not being in a capacity to make rates for any equal defraying the charge, I see little or no likelihood of obtaining a charter for us, unless their Majesties, out of their royal bounty and clemency, graciously please to grant it, *sub forma pauperis*, to their poor and loyal subjects of this Colony." The letter to Mr. Wiswall is in the same strain, with the additional communication of some turbulent proceedings, in contempt of the authority of the Colony, particularly in the county of Bristol, in regard to taxes for operations against the French, in which he says, the people about Dartmouth and Little Compton, were supported by Gov. Sloughter, who arrived in New-York in March 1691. Before these letters were written, the business was completed in England. The

charter granted to Massachusetts, in which Plymouth was included, bears date October 7th, 1691:—Mr. Wiswall could not be reconciled to this arrangement, and strongly expresses his feelings, on the occasion, in a letter to Mr. Hinckley, written in November. "All the frame of Heaven," says he, "moves upon one axis, and the whole of New-England's interest seems designed to be loaden on one bottom, and her particular motions to be concentric to the Massachusetts tropic. You know who are wont to trot after the bay horse; your distance is your advantage by which you may observe their motions. Yet let me mind you of that great statesman, Eccles. viii, 14. Few wise men rejoice at their chains. I do believe Plymouth's silence, Hampshire's neglect,* and the rashness and imprudence of one at least, who went from New-England in disguise by night, hath not a little contributed to our general disappointment."

Mr. Wiswall in this, and in other letters, indulges in severe remarks on Mr. Mather, as if it were by his management, that the union of Plymouth with Massachusetts were effected; but there is reason to believe, that his jealousies, on this subject, were unfounded. Mr. Mather, undoubtedly, exerted himself to prevent the annexation of Plymouth to New-York; but from an attentive examination of all accessible documents, on the subject, there appears no reason to doubt his fidelity and sincerity, in regard to Plymouth, as well as Massachusetts. All his influence, and that of his friends and of the country's friends, in England, which was very considerable, could not, probably, however exerted, have prevented the annexation of Plymouth, either to New-York, or to Massachusetts. There were considerations of very important interest, at that critical period, to erect a strong and efficacious barrier against the French power in North America. The schemes for the capture of New-York, the cruel massacre at Schenectady, the attack at Salmon Falls, and the capture of Casco fort, in 1690, evidenced the extreme danger to which all the British possessions, in the country, were exposed. It was conjectured, both in this country and in England, that the French in Canada, had concern in Philips' war, by secret understanding with that Chief. "The French considered Boston as another Carthage," say the writers of the Universal History, that was, at any rate, to be demolished,

* Hutchinson has it, *Humphries'* neglect.

and early entered into secret connexions with Philip." There appears no sufficient evidence of this supposed connexion, and when we look into the history and condition of Canada, at that time, as given by Charlevoix, there is reason to doubt the truth of the conjecture. The case was greatly altered, when the Massachusetts charter was granted, and the spirited exertions of that community, in their unsettled political condition, for the capture of Port-Royal, and their enterprising, though unfortunate expedition, for the capture of Quebec, in 1690, manifested an energetic exertion of a power, which it was desirable to encourage and to strengthen. Considerations of this sort may be supposed to have influenced the King and his Counsellors to give to Massachusetts the great enlargement of territory, conferred by the Charter. There appears no evidence *with* of discontent on the part of Plymouth ~~at~~ this measure, after it was adopted. Gov. Hinckley in one of his letters to Mr. Mather, remarks, that it would be well pleasing to himself and "sundry others of the most thinking men, who are desirous of supporting the ministry and schools of learning," to be annexed to Massachusetts.* Plymouth Colony had done worthily, during its separate existence. This was then acknowledged, and

* It was not good policy in Gov. Hinckley, if he wished to succeed in his application, to dwell so much on the poverty and weakness of the Colony. It was, indeed true, but, though their condition might be commiserated, in the reception of such representations, wise and honest statesmen, might, make a different inference from what was intended. Governour Hinckley appears, however, to have been well reconciled to the union. He died, according to a Note in Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, in 1706, aged 73; but in an elegy on his wife, who died in 1703, preserved in a MS. of Mr. Prince the Chronologist, he signs T. Hineckley ætatis 85.—This is probably correct, coming through the hands of such a man as Mr. Prince, who was a grand-son of Mr. Hinckley. Of Mrs. Hineckley, the second wife of the Governour, Mr. Prince speaks in high terms of commendation. She was the daughter of Mr. Smith, called Quarter-Master Smith, who came from England, with his family in 1635, and settled at Dorchester. This child, Mary, was then very young. They embarked at Bristol, in the same ship with Rev. Richard Mather. Her first husband was Nathaniel Glover, son of Hon. John Glover, of Dorchester. The children, by the marriage with Mr. Hineckley, were, one son, Ebenezer, and five daughters, one of whom, Mercy was married in 1686, to Samuel Prince, of Sandwich, father of the Chronologist. Mr. Prince gives the following description of his grand-mother—"She, to the day of her death, appeared and shone, in the eyes of all, as the loveliest and brightest woman, for beauty, knowledge, wisdom, majesty, accomplishments and graces, throughout the Colony."

will be acknowledged in all future time, but there has, probably, been no period, since the union, in which that transaction has been regretted by the people inhabiting that territory. The similarity of character, and identity of interests, of every description, rendered such a union rational and desirable, and it is observable that the people of New-Hampshire, as Dr. Belknap informs us, would gladly have been annexed to that government, and, indeed, petitioned for such an union, by a convention of deputies assembled for that purpose. The measure was defeated by the influence of heirs or assignees of some great proprietors. [Hist. New-Hamp. II. Ch. ix.] It is to the honour of Massachusetts, that none have had reason to regret a comprehension within her jurisdiction, and that her history, in every stage of her progress, exhibits multiplied instances of magnanimity, public spirit, and regard to the best interests of man.

By the new charter of 1691, four, at least, of the twenty-eight Counsellors, were to be from the territory "formerly called New-Plymouth." The four gentlemen named for this purpose, in the charter, were Thomas Hinckley, William Bradford, John Walley, and Barnabas Lothrop.

Mr. Cotton, in his Supplement, gives the list of towns, in the three counties of Plymouth, Bristol, and Barnstable, as they were at the time when he wrote, 1721. The following Table exhibits the towns and plantations in the Colony of Plymouth, as they were at the time of the union with Massachusetts, with dates of settlement or incorporation, as nearly as could be ascertained, and with the Indian names of places, in italics, agreeably to the orthography observed in the Plymouth records.

Original Corporations and Plantations.

Derivative Corporations.

County of Plymouth.

1620 settled. 1640 bounded.	Plymouth.* <i>Pawtucket.</i> <i>Apaum.</i>	{	Plimton, 1707. { part of Halifax, 1734. Carver, 1790.
			Kingston, 1726. part of Wareham, [<i>Agawam</i> , 1739.]

* In a Note, at page 217, the reader was referred to an intended head at the close of this Appendix, to be entitled ANALYTA. Under that head, it was in contemplation to place some miscellaneous materials, which it was not convenient to insert in the marginal notes; but, the work has been so much extended, that the editor finds it necessary to confine himself, in this particular, to a mere

*Original Corporations and Plantations.**Derivative Corporations.*

1637 settled.	Duxbury.	{ part of Marshfield, 1640. part of Bridgewater, 1656. Pembroke, [Namassakeset, part,] 1711. Hanson, 1820. part of Kingston, 1726.
1640 bounded.	Namassakeset.	

performance of his engagement; an account of the Ministers of the Plymouth Churches, with a brief notice of the Pilgrim Society and their Hall.

First Church in Plymouth, and the first Congregational Church in America.

1629, Ralph Smith, removed to Manchester.

1636, John Reyner, removed to Dover, (N. H.) 1654.

1669, John Cotton, removed to Charleston, (S. C.) 1698, died there, aged 60.

The Church in Plymouth, erected a stone to his memory, in the burial ground, in Plymouth, with a suitable inscription.

1699, Ephraim Little, died 1723, aged 47.

1724, Nathaniel Leonard, removed to Norton, 1757.

1760, Chandler Robbins, D. D. died June 30, 1799, aged 61.

1800, James Kendall, D. D.

Ruling Elders.

William Brewster, died 1644, (according to the Church records,) aged 84.

1647, Thomas Cushman, 1691, aged 84.

1699, Thomas Faunce, 1746, aged 90 years 6 months.

The first Church and Society have had three meeting-houses. The first, erected 1637, the second, in 1684, the third, which is yet standing, 1744. The builders of the first house were John Tomson, and Richard Church, father of Col. Benjamin Church.

Second Church—at Manomet Ponds, beyond the Pine-Hills.

1738, Jonathan Ellis, removed to Little Compton.

1753, Elijah Packard, removed to Marlborough.

1770, Ivory Hovey. Died Nov. 4, 1803, in the 90th year of his age.

1804, Seth Stetson, removed to Salem.

1824, Moses Partridge. Died Sept. 26, 1824, aged 36.

1826, Joshua Barrett.

This Church is the *sixth*, derived directly from the first Church. The five preceding Churches, thus derived, are those of Duxbury, Marshfield, Eastham, Plimton and Kingston.

Third Church.

1744, Thomas Frink, removed to Rutland, where he had been settled, before he came to Plymouth, 1748.

1749, Jacob Bacon, continued to 1776, when the Society, becoming greatly diminished, ceased to maintain public worship in their house, and, in 1784, were re-united to the first Church. Their meeting-house was then taken down.

1802. *Another Congregational Church*, derived from the first Church, was organized, and a House erected for worship, on the Training field. Their first minister was Adoniram Judson, lately deceased.

*Original Corporations and Plantations.**Derivative Corporations.*

1636.	Scituate, Satuit, [a brook so named,]	Hanover, 1727.
1640.	Marshfield.	
1656.	Bridgewater. { North Bridgewater, 1821. West Bridgewater, 1822. East Bridgewater, 1823. Missaucatucket, [pond and river.] Nuckataceet, [pond and river.]	
1660.	Middleborough. Namasket.	part of Halifax, 1734.
1650.	Accord pond Shares, } Ford's farm, } plantations.	{ probably in Scituate, Hanover, and Abington. part of Abington, 1712.

County of Barnstable.

1639. Barnstable.
Mattacheest.
Cummaquid.

1818, William T. Torrey,—removed.

1824, Frederic Freeman.

1816. *A Congregational Church and Society*, derived principally from the first and third Societies, was incorporated, and a small meeting-house erected, at Eel river; Benjamin Whitman, officiating minister.

Baptist Church and Society.—Meeting-house in Spring-Street.

1822, Stephen S. Nelson, their first pastor, installed, 1823—removed.

1824, Benjamin S. Grafton, installed.

1826, The *first Universalist Society*, in Plymouth, was incorporated. Meeting-house now building and nearly finished, on the north side of Leyden-Street.

Pilgrim Hall, was erected from funds obtained by subscription by the Pilgrim Society, incorporated in 1820. It is a plain building, of stone; but susceptible of considerable ornament, the addition of a portico in front, which the funds of the Society have not enabled them to furnish, according to the original plan. A handsome view of this building, and of the Town, as seen from the harbour, appear in the engraved certificate of membership of the Society, sketched by John R. Penniman of Boston, and struck off at Pendleton's Lithographic press. John Watson, Esq. lately deceased, at an advanced age, was the first President of the Pilgrim Society. Those who have attended the anniversary celebrations, since the organization of the Society, will remember his dignified appearance and courteous manners. With his friends a lasting impression will remain of his generous sentiments and exemplary deportment, in the various relations of life. This gentleman was the last surviving member of the Old Colony Club, instituted in 1769, which originated the celebration of the Landing of the Fathers. He lived more than thirty years, on Clark's Island, at the entrance of Plymouth harbour, on which the Pilgrims landed, and kept their first Sabbath, on their exploring excursion from Cape Cod, in December 1620. His successor, as President of the Pilgrim Society, is Alden Bradford, Esq. of Boston, a descendant from Governor Bradford and John Alden.

<i>Original Corporations and Plantations.</i>		<i>Derivative Corporations.</i>	
1639.	Sandwich. <i>Shawme.</i>		
1639.	Yarmouth. <i>Mattakeest.</i>	} Dennis, 1793. [<i>Nobscusset.</i>]	
1646 settled. 1651 incorporated.	Eastham. <i>Nawoet.</i>		
		} Wellfleet, 1763. <i>Punnonakanit.</i> Orleans, 1797. <i>Naumakeket.</i>	
1686.	Rochester. <i>Seipican.</i>		
1686.	Falmouth. <i>Sucknussett.</i>	} afterward transferred { part of Wareham. to Plymouth County. { 1739.	
1640. 1686.	<i>Saukatucket.</i> <i>Monamoy.</i> <i>Pamet.</i>		
		} Plantations. { Harwich, 1694. Brewster, 1803. Chatham, 1712. Truro, 1709. Province Town, 1737.	
1660.	<i>Massapee</i> , [Christian Indian plantation.]		
<i>County of Bristol.</i>			
1681.	Bristol. <i>Kekimuct.</i>	} annexed to Rhode-Island 1741, before, the Shire Town of Bristol County.	
1639.	Taunton. <i>Cohannet.</i>		
	[First County Court held at Taunton, Dec. 9, 1745.]	} Dighton. { Easton, 1725. Mansfield, 1770. Berkley, 1735. Wellington, 1813, (again united with Dighton, 1826.	
		Raynham, 1731.	
1645.	Rehoboth. <i>Sekonk.</i> <i>Wannamoisset.</i>	} Sekonk, 1712.	
1664.	Dartmouth. <i>Accushena.</i>		
		} New Bedford, 1787. { Fair Haven, 1812. <i>Accushena.</i> { Sconticut. Westport, 1787. <i>Accukset.</i>	
1667.	Swansea. <i>Pockanokett.</i> <i>Sawaams.</i>		
		} Warren and Barrington annexed to Rhode Island 1741. Somerset, 1790.	
1682.	Little Compton. <i>Saconet.</i>		
1683.	Freetown. <i>Asonet.</i>	} Troy, 1803. <i>Quequetteant.</i>	
	Plantations. Rehoboth North Purchase, [Attleborough, 1694.] Attleborough Gore—Cumberland, annexed to R. Island, 1741.		
	<i>Pankateest.</i> <i>Pocasset.</i>	} Tiverton, 1694. annexed to R. Island, 1741.	

Such is the statistical inventory of the possessions of the first planters of New-England; assiduous labourers in the wilderness.

for the space of seventy-two years. Many observations relative to the character, the spirit, the institutions, habits and manners of those memorable men, would have appropriate connexion with such a survey; but, the plan of this work, and its unexpected length will not admit an indulgence of a course so discursive. The reader had warning, in the beginning, that he was to enter into a forest, and would, doubtless, by this time, be inclined to retire from it. We have merely to ask his acceptance, at parting, of a slight memento of a few of the venerated characters whom we have often met with in our wanderings. We have shaken hands with our worthy Secretary twice before, but it would seem unkind, at this adieu, to separate him from his esteemed friends and companions. /e

William Bradford

Edw. Brinsford

William Brewster

Nyles Standish

Thos. Drexler

William H. Brewster



Errata.

- ✓ p. 22, l. 4 from bottom, for George, read Gorges.
- ✓ p. 28, l. 6 r. persons of special.
- ✓ p. 29, l. 3 *Note*, for collected, r. collated.
- ✓ p. 39, l. 10 from bottom, for *officers*, r. *offices*.
- ✓ p. 42, l. 6 from bottom, dele—they—
- ✓ p. 63, l. 12 from bottom, for inlet, r. islet.
- ✓ p. 69, l. 3 from bottom, for 1799, r. 1755.
- ✓ p. 102, l. 2 from bottom, for his, r. their.
- ✓ p. 120, l. 4 from bottom, for near, r. now.
- ✓ p. 127, l. 1, 2, and 3, of the *Note*, for Leydon, r. Leyden.
- ✓ p. 141, l. 15, *note*, for 1631, r. 1630. l. 19, for 1632, r. 1637.
- ✓ p. 142, l. 5, *note*, for brook, r. book. l. 15, for 110, r. 40.
- ✓ p. 173, l. 5, *note*, for pre-ation, r. prevention.
- ✓ p. 181, l. 22, *note*, for 1354, r. 1654.
- ✓ p. 185, l. 1, for Oldman, r. Oldham.
- ✓ p. 188, l. 5 from bottom, r. was to come.
- ✓ p. 192, l. 3, for Track, r. Trask.
- ✓ p. 199, l. 18 from bottom, *note*, for Burdell, r. Bendall.
- ✓ p. 213, l. 7 *note*, for ou old Corners, r. or old Corners. l. 17, for February
r. January. l. 21, for March, r. February.
- ✓ p. 221, l. 15, *note*, for six, r. four. l. 2, for latter, r. former. l. 21, for
Patience, r. Fear.
- ✓ p. 223, l. 24, *note*, for yea, r. yet.
- ✓ p. 226, l. 7, for sweetly, r. sweetly. *ib.* *Note*, l. 9, for 1664, r. 1643. *ib.*
last line, for Hallowell, r. Fallowell.
- ✓ p. 227, last line, for John, r. Thomas
- ✓ p. 228, l. 3, *note*, for Worcester, r. Franklin.
- ✓ p. 234, l. 2, for Edward, r. Edmund.
- ✓ p. 250, last line, for son, r. grandson.
- ✓ p. 261, for Carestrull, r. Careswell.
- ✓ p. 308, l. 3 from bottom, r. Ophiuchus.
- ✓ p. 310, *note*, l. 3, dele l.
- ✓ p. 377, *note*, l. 1, for it, r. is.
- ✓ p. 392, l. 7 from bottom, for hose, r. hose.
- ✓ p. 396, l. 14 from bottom, for Mansfield, r. Marshfield.
- ✓ p. 398, l. 2, r. Thlaspi.
- ✓ p. 418, l. 6 from bottom, for sect. r. such.
- ✓ p. 456, l. 24, r. as I before wrote, is.
- ✓ p. 469, l. 2 from bottom, dele—in which.

[It will be perceived, that several of the errors in the above list, are of such a description, that they are not to be placed to the account of the printers.]

The editor would here advert to two mistakes, according to his present views, that could not be conveniently noticed in a list of *errata*.

In a *note*, page 162, Dr. Cotton Mather is represented as saying, that Rev. Mr. Warham was the first who preached with notes in New England. It had been previously so stated by Rev. Dr. Eliot and President Allen, in their *Biographical Dictionary*. The editor thus erred, if there be an error in the case, in good company; but is bound to say, that on a review of the passage referred to, in the *Magnalia*, in connexion with Dr. Mather's quotation from Mr. Baxter's writings, it will appear, that it was only a certain manner of preaching with notes, that was intended to be expressed: a free, natural manner, as if the preacher were speaking without notes—"The first preacher that ever thus preached with notes in our New-England." The mistake would have been avoided, if the qualifying particle, *thus*, having reference to a mode of pulpit eloquence, described by Mr. Baxter, had attracted attention.

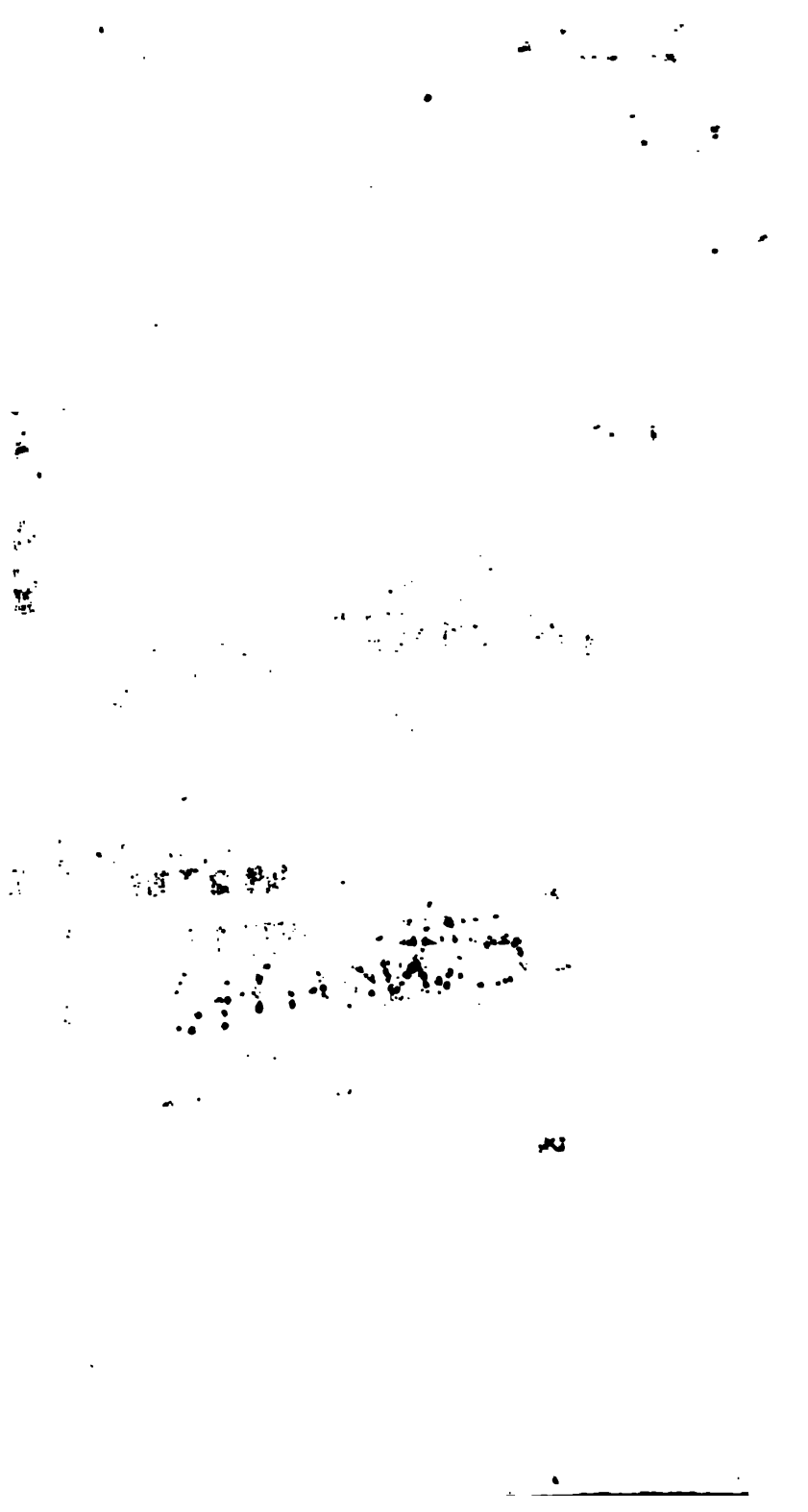
Page 201. In the last *note*, on that page, the suggestion that the author probably had reference, in his remarks, to the patent obtained by Roger Williams, in 1645, is considered to be incorrect. It is believed, that he had the Charter of 1663 in view.

Errata, continued.

- ✓ p. 199, *Note*, l. 17 from bottom, for 13, r. 73.
 - ✓ p. 232, *Note*, l. 7 from bottom, for *enemy*, r. *neighbour*.
 - ✓ p. 480, after *Sekonk*, for 1712, r. 1812.
 - ✓ p. 481, l. 9, for *momento*, r. *memento*.
- A. 424 2. 15 for HOWES & HAVES









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